Annie L. Parker

November
1929

SIR GEORGE PARKIN

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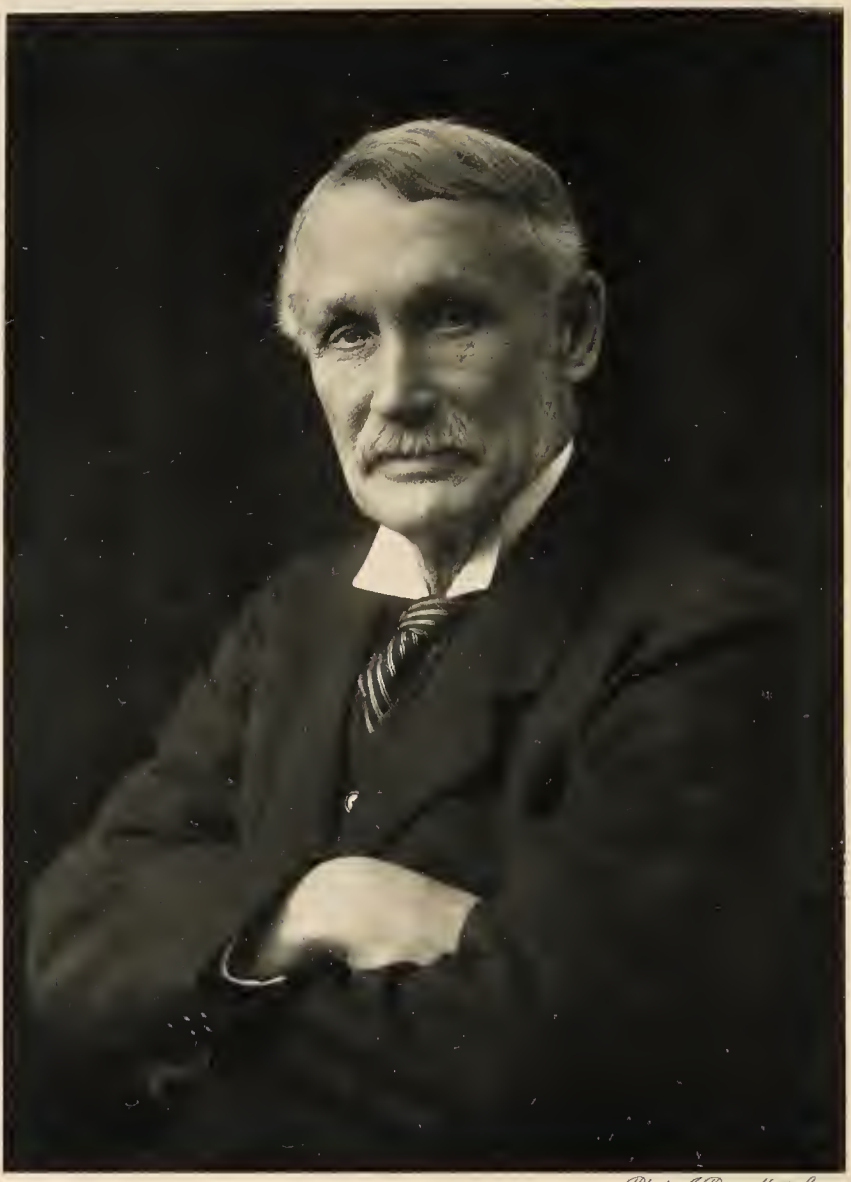

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George R. Parkin

SIR GEORGE PARKIN

A Biography

BY

SIR JOHN WILLISON, LL.D.

AUTHOR OF "SIR WILFRID LAURIER AND THE LIBERAL PARTY: A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY"

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PUBLISHERS' PREFACE

In December 1923 the late Sir John Willison undertook the preparation of a biography of Sir George Parkin, and all Sir George's papers were put at his disposal. Sir John died in May 1927, and although the work was in an advanced state of preparation, many interruptions, inevitable and uncontrollable in the life of so busy a man, had prevented its completion. With the consent of his executors, the manuscript was entrusted for completion to his friend, Mr. W. L. Grant, formerly Beit Lecturer in Colonial History at Oxford, now Principal of Upper Canada College, Toronto, and a son-in-law of Sir George Parkin. To him are due Chapters II., III., and X., though they are based upon notes and material collected by the original author. In the other chapters Mr. Grant has made numerous small excisions, additions, and such other corrections as are necessary in any final revision of a manuscript. But the whole plan of the book and in great part its wording are the work of Sir John Willison, and it is therefore under his name that it is published.

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CHAPTER I

IN THE BUSH AND BY THE SEA

The Atlantic Provinces of Canada have been through successive generations the nursery of poets, statesmen, orators and teachers. Three of the Prime Ministers of Canada, Thompson, Tupper and Borden, were natives of Nova Scotia. One Prime Minister of Great Britain, Bonar Law, was born and partly brought up in New Brunswick. Tilley of New Brunswick was an influential figure in the movement for federation of the British North-American Provinces and a federal statesman of distinction and authority. Joseph Howe was a poet, a statesman, an orator and a prophet. He saw farther than any other man of his time into the future of Canada and the Empire. He was peculiarly the father of responsible government in the British colonies overseas. Although he was recreant for a moment to the ideals he had fashioned and cherished, he was yet greater in service and achievement than many of his contemporaries whose names have higher recognition in British colonial history. Among educationists there was George Monro Grant, for so many years Principal of Queen's University, a sagacious leader in Church and State, a lover of Canada when his native Province of Nova Scotia was in open revolt against the project of Confederation, and a robust evangelist of Empire in days when the road along which Canada was to travel was obscured by mists of doubt and uncertainty.

In literature there was Haliburton, who has won his place among the immortals, and Roberts and Carman, singers of exquisite melody and felicitous interpreters of the grave solemnity of the hills and the quiet beauty of the fields and streams of the seabound Provinces.

Winter lingers in this Eastern country, spring comes slowly and reluctantly, summer hastens but is generous with sunshine, and there is a touch of the sea that heals and stimulates. As in New England, there has been the flavour of an older civilization in the Atlantic Provinces of Canada. Lives run on more leisurely than in the noisier communities where the rivalries of an eager commercialism absorb and distract. Men and women have time for happy social intimacies, for reading and thinking, for devotion to the things which enrich the mind and give simplicity and dignity to human intercourse. As New England was the womb of scholars and of statesmen, so the British Provinces on the Atlantic have nourished a people devoted to books, to political debate, and to the problems of government. The old order changes even in these quiet and leisurely Eastern communities, but much still remains of the spirit and outlook of two or three generations ago. It was in this atmosphere that George Robert Parkin was born, and throughout his career there was a singular fidelity to the characteristics and ideals which give the Eastern Provinces their individual distinction in the Canadian Confederation.

The village of Salisbury in Westmoreland County in the Province of New Brunswick was Parkin's birthplace. He was born on February 8th, 1846, a score of years before the British North-American Provinces were united under a common Government. He was the youngest of

a family of thirteen children, five brothers and eight sisters. His father was John Parkin of Yorkshire, a dalesman of the yeoman class, whose people had been settled for many generations on the upper waters of the Tees. 'The common people of England,' said Parkin in an autobiographical fragment discovered among his papers, 'find their only Debrett in the registers of their parish churches.' Writing to a friend in later years he said: 'I have always thought that I owe most of the energy I have to my Yorkshire blood, for father, though now nearly eighty-five, has that same apparently indomitable vigour which you mention in your friend. My father's native place was Lunedale, which is on the Yorkshire side of the Tees, and he spent most of his boyish days in Middleton and Michleton, two small villages in the lead-mining district, a few miles above Barnard Castle. There are none of our name in the vicinity who are near connections, so far as I could find, but several cousins of father of other names I found in different parts of the Dale country.' He was told by an old clergyman of Lunedale, when he visited the neighbourhood in 1873, that in the church registers of the adjoining villages there was record of ten John Parkins in direct succession. The fact suggested to him the 'permanence of population' in England before the era of railways and steamships. Of its fluidity afterwards he had a striking illustration when he was appointed to administer the Rhodes Scholarship system. Within a few weeks he had letters from New England, California, Australia and New Zealand from correspondents who were convinced that they were of the stock from which he sprang. His father was born in 1795 and could recall the celebrations throughout England over the victory of Waterloo and the slow recovery of the

British people from the consequences of the long struggle for the overthrow of Napoleon.

When John Parkin decided to emigrate he followed in the track of other adventurous spirits of the neighbourhood who had settled in New Brunswick. A three months' voyage in a sailing ship brought him to the shores of the Bay of Fundy, where a few English communities had been established, for the most part upon lands formerly occupied by the Acadians. John Parkin made his way to Hillsborough in Albert County, where a year or two later he married Elizabeth McLean of Nova Scotian birth and Loyalist descent. Immediately after marriage the young couple secured a bush farm upon the easy conditions prescribed by the Government for pioneer settlers and, as their son wrote later, ' plunged into the depths of the primeval forest which then covered almost the entire Province.' He added, ' My father has told me how his horse wound his way around stumps and fallen trees on the rough path which served as a road along the Petitcodiac River towards the spot on its tributary, the Coverdale, which was to be the site of their forest home.' They seem to have accepted the hardships and privations of those days with courage and serenity. They spoke more often, it is said, of the advantages than of the trials and difficulties of life in the backwoods. There is this passage in the autobiographical fragment : ' The heavily timbered country that supplied abundant building material and fuel to combat the winter cold, the river close at hand with its plentiful supply of trout in spring and salmon in summer, the venison obtained from the moose and caribou of the forest in the autumn and winter, partridges and wild pigeons in great plenty at some seasons, the wonderful yield of potatoes and cereals from the newly cleared land

enriched by the ashes of the burnt timber, the sugar made from the maple tree in the early spring, all these made possible a rough plenty of the essentials of life.' Nevertheless, life in the backwoods taxed all the courage and endurance of the pioneers. How the mothers of those days reared their children, spun and wove, fed their households, turned from task to task in which there was so much of drudgery and which so often brought such utter physical weariness, is beyond all common understanding and can be explained only by a faith, forever present and abiding, that there would be ultimate recompense and reward. Twelve of John Parkin's children were born where the nearest physician was twenty miles away. As distant was the small and poorly supplied country store where they did their shopping. There was little, if any, of the modern machinery by which the strain of physical labour is lightened. It was, as Parkin said, a hand-to-hand struggle with the soil and the forest. But his mother lived to be sixty with mental and physical powers unimpaired, while his father, ' the most strenuous worker I ever knew, never relaxed his consuming energy until far past eighty.' Of the thirteen children of John Parkin none died before forty, seven lived beyond three score years and ten, and two passed into the nineties.

For more than twenty years the family lived in the backwoods. The one grief of the mother, manifestly a woman of singular gifts and strong character, was that the children were denied opportunities for education. For this and other reasons they removed to Salisbury in Westmoreland County, where there was a community large enough to support a school and, as is said in the fragment, ' the door to knowledge was at least slightly ajar.' There George Parkin spent his boyhood, and he

gives us this picture of Salisbury as he saw it across the years: 'From the low hills an outlook on a wide sweep of marshland—the Petitcodiac River winding through it from east to west—the Coverdale joining it just opposite the farm—the curve of the hillside clothed with trees and shrub where we gathered strawberries, choke cherries, hazel nuts, and other wild fruits of the earth in their season—the fertile ridge of upland where the crops were chiefly grown—the wood to the north where we caught rabbits in the winter—the two brooks flowing through the farm in which we caught trout through the spring and summer—the Fundy tides with their wonderful bore—the blue hills far away to the south—the smelt in spring—the salmon in summer—bass on rarer occasions—the tales of salmon in earlier years when there were few settlers to disturb them—the willow tree planted as a small stick at fourteen, now three feet in diameter—the spring at the bottom of the hill, always cool in summer—the slanting path to it so often trodden.'

He grew up a long, lean, healthy boy. An elder brother recalls that he had great difficulty in getting him to go to school; but that as soon as he discovered he could learn things there, all trouble ceased. He early discovered the fascination of Latin, and in the early days he is said to have learned Virgil by doing an odd line as the horses were turning round at the end of a furrow.

For such a lad, as for so many sons of Canadian farmers, the natural ambition was to be a school-teacher. From the common school at Salisbury, where he stood high in the examinations, he went for further training to the Normal School at St. John, where at seventeen years of age he received a certificate entitling him to teach in any of the primary schools of the Province. He taught for a

year at Buctouche and for another year on the Island of Campobello. At both of these schools he had many pupils older than himself, and at times had to take strong measures to enforce discipline. But he was singularly successful both as a teacher and a disciplinarian. His power was in the respect and affection which he inspired, in the enthusiasm and energy which he displayed in the discharge of his duties, and in the curious ease with which he drew to himself the sympathies of parents and trustees. Never was Parkin too old to command the interest of young people nor too young for serious consideration by older people. Moreover, he was always a student, and in those pioneer communities there was reverence for industry and respect for ambition. It was only by the sacrifice of his parents and his own capacity for self-denial that he was enabled to go to the Normal School and later to the university. He had, therefore, no time to waste and little money to spend. While at Buctouche and Campobello he was fitting himself for the university and especially devoting himself to the classics, which even then he regarded as the bedrock of any sound and liberal education.

Campobello, which he knew so well in those years and to which his mind turned again and again when he was engrossed in other pursuits and fretted with cares and anxieties, was to Parkin an Island of Romance. It is not easy to find more picturesque scenery than in this and the other islands which lie at the entrance to Passamaquoddy Bay. In the distance to the south rise the cliffs of Grand Manan, so often veiled in fog, on which so many vessels have gone to destruction. Here meet the tidal waves of the North and South Atlantic. The waters are driven with such mighty force into the funnel-shaped bay which

separates New Brunswick from Nova Scotia that at its head the tides rise thirty, forty, or in certain conditions of wind and lunar conjunction even fifty feet above the lower level. They run far up the Petitcodiac and other streams and carry along the silt which forms the rich marshlands of Grand Pré and Tantramar. The swing of the great tides made all navigation so peculiarly hazardous that only sailors and fishermen of exceptional skill and daring could ride such wayward, arrogant and turbulent waters. With Eastport on the coast of Maine as their base, coasting steamers, trading schooners, ships in need of supplies or repairs, and in the summer pleasure yachts and passenger ferries were forever coming and going. In the haddock and cod fishing season scores of fishing boats could be seen slowly and lazily drifting along the Bay as their owners drew from the depths the treasure of the sea. Opposite the Island the River St. Croix, famous in the early French and English occupation, emptied its waters into the Bay. The Island itself, about twelve miles long and in places three or four miles wide, with its rocky shores and two or three small harbours, had originally been granted to Admiral Owen, a naval veteran, as a reward for years of arduous and dangerous service in surveying the coasts of Canada and West Africa. His daughter married Captain Robinson of the British Navy, who took the name of Robinson-Owen and was a member of the Legislative Council of New Brunswick. The old Manor House in which they lived and where they entertained many visitors of distinction took on the air and habit of a country house in England. The fishermen settled along the coast and paid rent for their plots of land and shore rights. Such tenancy, according to Parkin, was otherwise unknown in New Brunswick, and

there were grievances and complaints, but he was convinced that 'Robinson-Owen and his gracious wife exercised this unusual overlordship with genuine consideration and a sense of responsibility.'

While life among the fisher people was primitive, it was rich in the lore of the sea and woven through with romance and adventure. Many of the older fishermen had spent years before the mast in all waters. They had seen many lands and had grown wise and patient by long endurance and deep and strange experiences. In the early spring many of these fishermen took their staunch vessels through the ice of the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Magdalen Islands and returned with cargoes of coarse herring which they salted and smoked for the negro markets of the Southern States and the West Indies. The home run of herring, of better and more delicate quality, was smoked and sold in Canada and in New England. In the summer many joined the Gloucester fleet and fished for cod off the Banks of Newfoundland. Many of these fishermen came from New England, and were of the type of the early Puritans. When they spoke of religion they had the traditional unction and the nasal utterance of the Cromwellian soldier. 'A curious illustration of this,' said Parkin in the fragment, 'remains fixed in my memory. When the time came for me to leave the Island in order to enter the university, Captain Nehemiah Mitchell, a weather-beaten sailor fisherman, whose friendship I had gained, volunteered to take me in his boat to Eastport, where I was to join the steamship which carried me away. A large party of pupils and parents had come to the landing stage to bid me good-bye. There was some delay till the tide was high enough to float the boat. As we stood waiting and chatting, "Uncle" Nehemiah took off his sailor cap,

turned his eyes heavenward and, taking as a text the words "With all your getting get understanding," in a nasal tone worthy of Praise-God Barebones exhorted me for some minutes on the dangers and opportunities of an intellectual life while the whole company stood around silently attentive. The deep sincerity of his remarks and their wisdom redeemed the ludicrousness of the situation and have remained impressed on my recollection. When the exhortation was completed he instantly became his sailor self again and with a natural quarterdeck voice ordered his young men to launch the boat and take the oars.'

These were the conditions in which Parkin spent his boyhood and these the influences by which his character was fashioned and his ardour stimulated. There is a strange power in the sea to create desire and vision and carry the mind across great distances. Anyone who has felt the silence and mystery of the woods broken only by the crash of tree tops and the sullen roaring of the tempest, or has known the languor of the sea at rest or its daring in times of anger, has that in his soul which persists while life lasts although he may neither remember nor understand. There was a sense of conflict in the struggle of the pioneers of Canada to conquer the forest which made men strong and resolute and women patient and enduring. These qualities George Parkin inherited and they were a possession of incomparable value.

There is no doubt that from his youth he was ambitious and eager for distinction. But through all his dreams ran the resolve to keep his own soul in simplicity and integrity. In a loose sheet among his papers, recalling his schooldays at Salisbury, there are these sentences: 'Crude ambitions were in these years forming themselves

in my mind, a burning desire to know, a longing to see with my own eyes the places one read about, to meet men who wrote books or did things, to get in touch with the world of which the faint echoes only came to our country life, vague dreams of a thousand kinds filled one's thoughts and gave a perhaps unreal but, on the whole, a healthy stimulus.' It was some years after he left home, he tells us, that he read for the first time Tennyson's *Locksley Hall* and was moved, as so many country youths have been moved, by the lines :

'Yearning for the large excitement that the coming years would yield,
Eager-hearted as a boy when first he leaves his father's field.'

These lines, he wrote, expressed ' the very thought that thrilled me at sixteen when, arriving on an evening train, the lights of St. John, the largest town in the Province, came in sight. No entrance to the great capitals of the world has moved me so deeply since, save perhaps my first approach to Rome.'

Parkin entered the University of New Brunswick in September 1864, and graduated in June 1867. In his first year he won the Douglas gold medal, founded by Sir Howard Douglas, Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick and first Chancellor of King's College.[1] This medal is offered for competition among under-graduates for the best English essay on a subject suggested by the Visitor to the University, who is the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province. In 1865 the subject chosen was ' Railways in their Financial, Moral and Social Aspects,' and the youthful essayist showed remarkable industry, an eager imagination, and skill and force in

[1] In 1800, by Provincial Charter, the College of New Brunswick was established ; in 1828 the institution was incorporated by Royal Charter as King's College with the style and privileges of a university ; in 1860 King's College was reorganized under an amended Charter as the University of New Brunswick.

argument. With the fine optimism of his day he contended that the nineteenth century was marked by change, improvement, and general advancement, far exceeding in nature and extent the accumulated progress of many preceding centuries. The discovery and the application of new forces had produced a complete social and industrial revolution. Individual and national prosperity had been augmented, mental and moral standards had been elevated, and the condition of all classes had been improved. Steam he described as chief among the motive agents which the sagacity of man had discovered, and in the railway was illustrated the most widely beneficial of all its applications. These views he emphasised with the repetition, the over-emphasis and excessive elaboration natural to a young man. He was so anxious to be understood, and he had such natural fluency that he could leave nothing unsaid that would illuminate or support his position. But in all this, as in all his later speaking and writing, he was never obscure, evasive or uncertain. From the first, as this essay clearly shows, he had the manner and the method of the platform, with abundance of words, and that liveliness, urgency and vigour for which he was always distinguished.

Parkin's achievement is the more remarkable when it is remembered that the competition is open to all undergraduates and generally has been won, not by a freshman, but by a senior or junior. In his second year he won the prize offered annually to the student of the junior class with the best standing in natural science. In 1867 he received the B.A. and in 1872 the M.A. degree from the University.

The three years at the University of New Brunswick he described afterwards as ' a period of almost unalloyed

happiness.' He was an eager student, amenable to discipline, and beloved by teachers and classmates. Limited as the University was in equipment and restricted as it was in its range of studies, there was an intimate relation between teachers and students which stimulated effort and enabled the professors to discover and the students to reveal their qualities and aptitudes. In many greater universities where there is no such opportunity for personal attention and contact there are barren fig trees which would perhaps have borne rich fruit under such favourable conditions as Parkin enjoyed at the University of New Brunswick. If the teaching staff at Fredericton was small there were among the professors men of distinction and high attainment. As he wrote in the fragment: 'Our President, Brydone Jack, trained in the severe school of the Scottish universities, taught us mathematics; Montgomery-Campbell, fresh from his Fellowship at a Cambridge college, brought us the inspiration and culture of an ancient English university; Professor Bailey, a student under Agassiz at Harvard, filled us with the enthusiasm for natural science which he had caught from his famous master; Baron d'Avray, a Jerseyman of French descent, with all the delicate courtesy of his race, combined a refined taste in English literature with a perfect mastery of French. Three years of work spent under such able and inspiring teachers went far to remedy the worst defects of earlier education and at least opened the doors for wider knowledge.'

In the memoir of Dr. Bailey by his son, Joseph Whitman Bailey, published in 1925, Parkin is described as the most interesting of his father's pupils. It is said that 'his most salient characteristics were the profundity of his friendships and his extraordinary heartiness of manner.

It was a firmly built house that would not vibrate slightly when Parkin laughed.' It is added that the soul within Parkin never changed. 'He greeted the most humble of his old friends and pupils either at home or abroad in a manner that banished all doubts of his sincerity.' When Parkin received the honour of knighthood he wrote from London in answer to a letter of congratulation from Dr. Bailey: 'Your letter brings back a flood of particularly happy recollections. It is now nearly fifty-five years since, as a green but very enthusiastic youth, I came to the University and found you there, a young professor—as eager to teach as I was to learn. I was greatly handicapped in some lines of study, such as classics, by lack of the early training which is almost essential to linguistic scholarship. But in your department and in Professor d'Avray'sEnglish classes I felt more on a level with the other men. With you especially the introduction to natural science was like the opening of a new world to me, and it gave me just the kind of intellectual stimulus I needed. I almost wonder that the studies of those days did not turn me into the field of scientific research. The memory of our geological and botanical rambles is still as fresh in my mind as if they had happened yesterday. Those three years were among the very happiest of a very happy life, and I always look back to them with the keenest pleasure. How few of all those who formed our world then are left. But all their kindness and happy influence in one's early life I never forget. Indeed, in all my wide wanderings since then I have seldom found social surroundings and intellectual influences more helpful and inspiring. My wife and I often speak of the immense advantage we gained from living in such surroundings as we had in the Fredericton of our early days. There was an old-fashioned courtesy

and dignity—a real interest in things of the mind and spirit, which seem to have somewhat disappeared in the rush of life and supposed progress of later times. It sometimes seems a long call from the little farm in which I was brought up in New Brunswick to this centre of activity.'

It was in this happy and inspiring household that Parkin first met Bliss Carman, afterwards his pupil. Each seems to have had an instant attraction for the other. Between the two, while Parkin lived, there was a friendship of rare intimacy. Of this first meeting Carman has written : ' One of my earliest recollections is being taken by my father one Sunday afternoon up to the College to call on Professor and Mrs. d'Avray, and their son-in-law and daughter, Professor and Mrs. Bailey. Professor d'Avray and his wife were a most delightful couple ; he a very distinguished-looking gentleman of the old school, with grey waxed moustache and a charming dry wit ; she very animated, with sparkling dark eyes and an incessant fund of humour. The drawing-room of these four good people, who lived together, was like a home to many a college boy of that time. On the particular Sunday which I recall, there was a young man calling on them who had graduated shortly before. I chiefly remember his ringing voice and his hearty laugh and manner. When he had taken his leave there was much talk of him and loud praises of his ability and character. Evidently a great favourite of the household. George R. Parkin was his name. I did not guess that I was to come under his care some years later, to spend six of the most impressionable years of my life under his daily supervision and guidance ; and to become forever indebted to him more than to anyone else except my parents for the most precious things of life.'

Parkin often said that at the University of New Brunswick he was fortunate in his teachers and not less fortunate in his classmates. Among these was George E. Foster, who became Minister of Finance under Sir John Macdonald and held office in successive Federal Cabinets.[1] An eager controversialist, as brilliant on the platform as any man who has ever appeared in the public life of Canada, and a Parliamentary speaker of exceptional power and resource, he still lives and still serves the Canadian people with devotion and distinction. Foster was afterwards his colleague at the Collegiate School in Fredericton; between them there was an unbroken friendship for half a century, and throughout they were valiant comrades in every struggle to maintain the unity of the Empire and increase the authority of Canada within the Imperial partnership. Among others of his classmates were William Pugsley, member of a Liberal Cabinet at Ottawa and subsequently Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick; James Mitchell, who became Premier of the Province; and James F. McCurdy, long Professor in the University of Toronto, and a distinguished authority on Oriental languages. There were those, too, among his classmates, of high promise as students, who 'bore no fruit of their days,' but whether they won or lost in the hard competition of this mortal life they were followed by Parkin to the end of the journey with unfailing sympathy and interest.

[1] The Douglas gold medal which Parkin won in 1865 was taken by Foster in 1866, while in 1867 Foster was awarded the prize in natural science which in 1866 had been won by Parkin.

CHAPTER II

FREDERICTON AND OXFORD

For more than twenty years, from 1867 to 1889, save for a year at Oxford, Parkin was a teacher at Bathurst or at Fredericton. On June 17th, 1867, he was appointed headmaster of the Gloucester Grammar School at Bathurst. He held this position until the close of the year 1871, when he was appointed headmaster of the Collegiate School at Fredericton. There was nothing eventful in Parkin's life at Bathurst. The Grammar School had honourable standing among the educational institutions of New Brunswick. It drew its scholars from various races and nationalities. Situated on Bathurst Basin, an inlet of the Bay of Chaleur, a long bridge connects Bathurst town and Bathurst village. At high tide the surging waters mount to its height. At low tide the land below is exposed. In the village there was a preponderance of English and Scottish families; in the town, where the saw-mills were situated, there was a French element and many mill-hands of other nationalities. Both town and village, however, had an admixture of races and common social, commercial and municipal interests.

The chief occupations of the people were lumbering and fishing, with farming along the river valleys. The rural stock was of good quality, and for the most part the farms were well tilled and highly productive. It was and is a characteristic of New Brunswick that the forests are

seldom remote from the commercial communities and there are, therefore, always good local markets for farm products. In those days, however, the social and political leaders of Gloucester, as of other counties in New Brunswick, were lumbermen, since that was the most extensive and profitable industry in the Province. The Fergusons, at whose head was the Honourable John Ferguson, were perhaps the most wealthy and powerful family at Bathurst.[1] Through Mr. Ferguson the young teacher had the first intimation that his application for the headmastership of the Grammar School had been accepted. One does not know when or where they first met, but it is manifest that Parkin had excited Mr. Ferguson's interest and won his admiration. With closer acquaintance the friendship strengthened and deepened. Parkin was a frequent guest at the home of the Fergusons, and until the death of the Senator they were in continuous correspondence with each other. Through the Fergusons all doors in Bathurst were opened to Parkin. They would have opened readily enough, however, even without this favourable introduction. Parkin could not be inactive or uninteresting. His aid was sought for social, religious and patriotic movements, he was welcome at any dinner table, and into every circle that he entered he brought a zest and an enthusiasm which could not be repressed.

In those days in Bathurst there was a social life of more than usual interest, attraction and elevation. There was wealth and leisure, scholarly men and attractive women, a free hospitality and a devotion to intellectual pursuits. At

[1] Lt.-Col. the Hon. John Ferguson was born in Ayrshire, Scotland, in 1813, and settled at Bathurst in 1836. For many years he was a partner in the firm of Ferguson, Rankin & Co., a branch of Pollock, Gilmour & Co., of Glasgow. He was Lt.-Col. of the 1st Battalion Gloucester County Militia, and a member of the Legislative Council of New Brunswick from 1864 until Confederation, when he was called to the federal Senate by Royal Proclamation.

the time, too, the Intercolonial Railway was under construction with Sandford Fleming as Chief Engineer, with whom in years to come Parkin was to form one of the closest and most lasting of his many friendships. During construction there was not only great commercial activity in Bathurst through a free expenditure of money for wages and supplies, but there was also a fresh social flow in the community, a changing political outlook, the birth of national consciousness and an eager speculative interest in the effects upon the Atlantic Provinces of the union with Upper and Lower Canada of which the Intercolonial Railway was the practical consummation. Those years in Bathurst were as free from care and as happy in the passing as any that Parkin ever knew, although he had few hours of leisure and never ceased from laborious preparation for the tasks of the future.

The manuscripts of two lectures have been preserved, given in 1867 and 1868 in the Court House at Bathurst. The first, delivered in January 1867, is entitled 'Life from the Standpoint of Youth.' For the other, delivered on December 31st, 1868, his subject was 'Education.' They are remarkable as indications of his deeply religious nature and his conception of life as a battle for ideals and principles. In the first there is much exhortation and much advice. There is warning against intemperance, against money-getting as an end in itself, against ambition merely for power or social distinction. He quotes freely from the Bible, from Bacon and Shakespeare and from the minor poets in praise of clean living and high achievement. There is in it the flavour of Samuel Smiles and a young man's evangelical ardour, but also a deep sincerity and a laudable freedom from cant. In the lecture on Education he suggests that most teachers find

their occupation distasteful, and he labours with ardour and an exuberant eloquence to establish the dignity and exalt the responsibilities of the teaching profession. There were times, no doubt, when teaching was sheer drudgery to him, but for the most part, particularly in those early years, he loved the schoolroom and did his work with the spirit and the outlook of a prophet. There were few, however, among the teachers of New Brunswick who regarded teaching as more than a stepping-stone to some other pursuit. Salaries were low, the schools poorly furnished, and playgrounds, if any were provided, unkempt and unkept. Although there was a general interest in education and the annual examinations were looked upon as interesting and important social events, Parkin thought that education was neglected and he said so with characteristic vigour and courage. 'I do not believe,' he said, 'that our politicians are such blind fools that they cannot catch a glimpse of this fact, that they cannot perceive the weakness of a political economy that takes so little account of the mental resources of a nation, and hence one is forced to the inference that they willingly sacrifice what they know to be the true and permanent interests of their country for the accomplishment of such ends as will receive the richest reward of vulgar popular applause.' He declared, however, that he saw signs of better days in the attitude towards education of L. A. Wilmot, then Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, for many years a member of the Council of the College of New Brunswick and later of the Senate of the Provincial University, and of Dr. Charles Tupper, the Premier of Nova Scotia, who had, he said, carried through the Legislature of that Province a wise and progressive measure of educational reform. 'It is indeed cheering,'

he said, ' to behold such a man as our own Lieutenant-Governor throwing all the weight of that influence which his fellow Provincialists have bestowed upon him and all the power of his flowing eloquence into the scale of educational progress, and to see Tupper of Nova Scotia staking his political reputation and political life on the question of free public instruction.' The aspiration with which he closed his lecture was realized long ago in New Brunswick and in every other Province of Canada. ' It needs no prophet's eye,' he said, ' to see that the day is not far distant when the people of this Province will be asked to declare if they wish the last barrier which separates the son of the poor man from the son of the rich man to be broken down ; if they desire to leave to their posterity the proud right of boasting that every child born on the soil of New Brunswick is as free to drink from the well of knowledge as he is to breathe the air which fans his native hills.'

In later years, although he always took wine or spirits with extreme moderation, Parkin was neither a total abstainer nor a believer in the legal prohibition of the liquor traffic. When he was at Bathurst, however, he seems to have put all his energy into the agitation for abolition of the licensed trade in drink. The leader in the agitation was Sir Leonard Tilley, who ranks with Howe and Tupper among the public men of the Atlantic Provinces. In 1855 Tilley had committed New Brunswick to an abortive experiment in prohibition. To the cause which he then espoused with so much ardour he remained faithful. Parkin was among the most energetic and aggressive of his disciples. Doubtless, too, both were affected by the action of the State of Maine, which through the inspiration of Neal Dow adopted a prohibitory

law which has never been repealed. In the lecture on Education Parkin denounced the liquor traffic with a savage intensity such as he seldom exhibited. He said: 'I have no doubt whatever that if all the money and valuable time which are wasted in the something like eighteen "rum shops" which Bathurst can boast (by the way, I like that good old term "rum shop." It is a far better name than the gentler appellations of bar-room or wine cellar or saloon by which people nowadays call those sinks of iniquity and pollution which trade and barter in human souls to purchase the bread which feeds themselves and their children—I wonder sometimes that it does not choke them—), if all the money, I say, which is spent in the eighteen rum shops of Bathurst were applied to really beneficial purposes, we should have fewer people complaining of hard times, fewer ragged and hungry children around our streets, our clergymen would be better paid, we should have better churches and schoolhouses, above all, our own consciences would be clearer and we should have around us fewer human lives on the highway to destruction. But, recklessly extravagant as is the waste which is thus entailed upon communities, I believe that the waste of intellect is even greater. In our own Province there are thousands of children growing up without any education whatever—thousands of grown-up men and women who are the merest children in point of intelligence—and away in the wide world beyond thousands and millions of human souls, living in one sense but mentally dead to all knowledge of their own capacities.'

This is strong language, and a teacher took risks who denounced with such freedom a habit so common in the pioneer communities of Canada. But when one recalls

that Bathurst had eighteen licensed drinking places one understands why the flame of his anger burned so fiercely and why his denunciation was so unrestrained. New Brunswick has been less faithful to prohibition than the State of Maine, and good men still differ over the practicability and even over the wisdom of legal prohibition, but those of us who live in these more sober days owe much to the ardour, the courage, the fanaticism if you will, of the early temperance agitators. If Parkin ceased to believe in legal prohibition one may be certain that he never regretted his association with Tilley in the agitation to restrain the evils of excessive social drinking in New Brunswick.

On December 13th, 1871, Parkin was appointed headmaster of the Collegiate School at Fredericton. At the meeting of the Senate of the University which considered his application it was resolved ' that on the retirement of Dr. Roberts, Mr. George R. Parkin, B.A., be and is hereby appointed headmaster of the Collegiate School with an annual allowance of six hundred dollars from the funds of the University, payable quarterly, from the first day of January next.' There could be no better evidence of the reputation which Parkin had made in the Grammar School at Bathurst. The Collegiate School at Fredericton was the natural feeder of the University and the headmastership was the prize of the teaching profession in New Brunswick.

Fredericton is rich in tradition, history and romance. It looks down upon the St. John River; behind are wooded hills; its principal street runs along the shore; upon the one side are business houses and upon the other the Court House, the Post Office, the Normal School, the City Hall and the barracks. One walks beneath over-

arching elms and looks across the river, spanned by long bridges, to the villages of St. Mary's and Gibson. Two tributary streams, the Nashwaak and the Nashwaakis, flow into the St. John, while into the Nashwaak empties Lovers' Creek, described by Mr. C. G. D. Roberts as 'slow winding and deeply shadowed' and dear to the devotees of birch and paddle. Fredericton is the capital of New Brunswick, the cathedral city of the Diocese, the headquarters of the Militia, the seat of the Judiciary, of the Normal School, and of the Provincial University. The public buildings of most distinction are the gothic Cathedral, the University, a plain structure of grey stone, and the Parliament House, a modern building of free-stone on a grey granite foundation.

When New Brunswick was a part of Acadia, Fredericton was called St. Anne's Point, and at the mouth of the Nashwaak stood a fort from which Villebon exercised jurisdiction when he was Governor of all Acadia. Generations afterward, when New Brunswick had become a British Province, Governor Carleton made St. Anne's Point his capital as affording advantages of defence against raiders from New England. At Fredericton, too, once lived Benedict Arnold, and close by the field where his house stood runs a narrow creek, at whose mouth he built small vessels for river trading. A fireplace, which once belonged to Arnold, is still in possession of the Parkin family, and his brass 'fire-dogs' were used in the house at Goring-on-Thames where they lived from 1906 to 1920.

The Provincial capital was a small town of about 7000 people, with a very distinct social life of its own, which centred around the Government House, the residence of the Bishop of Fredericton, and the Mess Room of the British regiment which till 1869 formed the garrison.

The leaders in politics, business and society were for the most part descendants of the United Empire Loyalists, who had come into the Province between 1783 and 1791. Into social life they brought standards of behaviour, a dignity of life and manners, and a love of letters and of the niceties of speech, which though at times a little narrow, were none the less sincere and dignified, and which Parkin later found lacking in the more commercial atmosphere of Toronto. Although the Loyalists were by no means all members of the Church of England, and though Lemuel Allen Wilmot, the Loyalist Lieutenant-Governor from 1868 to 1873, was a devout and devoted Methodist, most of the leaders in this little society were Anglican, and the admitted head, alike in society and in religion, was the Bishop of the diocese, John Medley. Though over sixty-six years of age when Parkin first came to Fredericton, the Bishop was still young in spirit, and Parkin soon became the devoted disciple of a man who had been the friend of Keble and of Pusey, and who combined in rare degree the qualities of saint and administrator, one whom Gladstone called ' the wisest head that wore a mitre.'

Bishop Medley was born in London in 1804, took his degree at Oxford in 1826, and was ordained deacon and priest in 1829. In 1845 he was consecrated to the see of Fredericton, and held the position till his death in 1892. When he first came to New Brunswick he found his diocese full of dissension, but his mixture of vigour and Christian charity soon restored harmony. He raised, partly in the Province, partly in England, money for the erection of the Cathedral, the first building of its kind in North America, and one which long set a standard of church architecture throughout Canada.

On his first coming to Fredericton he maintained the dignity of his position by living in a style perhaps better suited to an English cathedral town than to the little city on the St. John, driving in his carriage and pair and dining in some state. Later on he changed his whole mode of life, sold his horses, and lived with great simplicity, giving of his means to every good cause cheerfully and without ostentation. His simple nobleness made him, as long as he lived, a true leader of the community in every branch of social and religious life.

Though more than once he could have returned to a suitable position in England, he held strongly that to do so would be disloyal to his diocese and to New Brunswick, and even blamed his friend Selwyn for returning from New Zealand to the see of Lichfield.

Parkin's father was by birth an Anglican, but at Salisbury the only ordinances of religion had been those provided by itinerant Baptist preachers, and these John Parkin had gladly accepted. His son was brought up in that communion, and frequented its services till his arrival in Fredericton. Here his family traditions, his instinctive love of seemliness and dignity in worship, and above all the character and influence of the Bishop, brought him back to the Church of England, into which he was baptized in the Cathedral. His early religious training seems to have been mainly in the hands of two devout elder sisters, who remained Baptists and who till late in life, on his return from Fredericton, or Oxford, or the Continent, questioned him searchingly to know whether amid the temptations of the world he had retained his faith and his morals.

For the remainder of his life he was ' a sound Churchman,' neither Low nor High, and too broad to be classified

as such. He found in the Christian religion a full solution of life's enigmas and in the Anglican Church an embodiment of Christianity to which his whole temperament responded. But strong as was his Anglicanism, he had in him nothing of the sectary. He worked ceaselessly for his Church, but admitted its many weaknesses, loved it tenderly but granted without reserve the right of his brethren to their own opinions, and was always willing to co-operate with them in any good work. Though he had the temper of a proselytiser, his attack was always on vice or indifference, never on the belief of others. A fine sunniness of spirit irradiated his faith and his worship.

His great debt to Bishop Medley he acknowledged. 'His teaching made clearer the vision of a higher life,' he said once; and again, 'The Bishop and Sir John Seeley were the only two men I have ever met who from the first moment of my meeting with them impressed me as men of genius.' Mrs. Medley became almost equally a friend; and the Bishop for his part must have found in the young man's spirit, so ardent and sincere, a very living water of consolation. 'Simple, good and great,' Parkin described him in 1874; gruff too at times, and willing to point out to the young fellow his occasional crudities, for which service Parkin loved him none the less.

Into his new work in the Collegiate School Parkin threw himself with energy and enthusiasm, but after two years had managed to save from his small salary enough money to gratify an old ambition, and early in October 1873 he sailed for Oxford with a year's leave of absence.

His year in Oxford and in Europe was perhaps the most important in his life. From it his whole life took its note. Though he was only a non-Collegiate student, though he did not take a degree until he returned in 1911 to

receive the Honorary D.C.L., though his terms covered hardly more than six months, his eager, avid spirit, curiously open to new experiences, soaked itself in the atmosphere of the beautiful and romantic city, then largely free from its present residential and manufacturing suburbs. In a later address he says :

'I first became acquainted with Oxford in 1873-4. To a person with any share of imagination or susceptibility the influences then at work to mould thought or character in the University were what I can only describe as dynamic. I have sometimes said to English friends that the circumstances of my Oxford life had given me a sensation more powerful than anything of the kind they in the Old World could ever hope to feel : to grow up to manhood in the backwoods of Canada, filling one's mind with the details of English History, and having one's imagination stirred by the writings of men famed throughout the English world ; and then suddenly to be transported into the very centre of English History and into immediate touch with numbers of these very men, whose works had filled one's thought and stimulated one's imagination—great teachers and preachers and writers. One felt himself in the midst of currents of thoughts which were influencing the world wherever the English language was spoken.

Ruskin was lecturing on Art—his utterances often erratic—sometimes inconsistent and visionary, but always sparkling with genius and stimulating and suggestive to the last degree.

Dean Stanley came down at times from Westminster Abbey to fill the University pulpit. The fiercely disputed question whether it was well that young Oxford should listen to a theology so broad as his had just been decided in the affirmative, and whenever he came St. Mary's was crowded with young and old alike who came to listen to his teaching.

Dr. Pusey's great fighting days were over, and so were the days when it was a part of the creed of extreme opponents to look upon him as a kind of Anti-Christ—but he too sometimes came forth from his studious retirement to preach from the same pulpit to crowds as great and attentive as those which listened to Dean Stanley.

Liddon's Bampton Lectures had been given long before, and to hear his fervent eloquence one had to join the throngs which crowded the vast area of St. Paul's when he was the Canon in residence. But he was still living and teaching at Oxford, and his Greek Testament Lectures, on Sunday evenings in the Hall of

Queen's College, open to every student who wished to attend, were marvels of simple yet profound exegesis.

Newman had long since left Oxford and the Church of his youth, but echoes of him still reached us, and one saw much of men who had lived through that wonderful time when the fire of his eloquence as it rolled forth from the pulpit of St. Mary's had kindled into new spiritual life a generation sunk in formality and indifference.

Keble had lately died. It is an ancient fable that the walls of Thebes rose to the music of Amphion's lyre. At Oxford in those days we saw in very fact a wonder as great as that; for we saw the walls of the great College and splendid Chapel which were to commemorate Keble's name rising day by day as an echo to the music of his *Christian Year*.

Selwyn, the Missionary Hero of the Pacific, appeared at times in Oxford to fire the students with missionary zeal. T. H. Green, depicted as "Grey" by Mrs. Humphry Ward in her much criticized novel, *Robert Elsmere*, was wielding a quiet but powerful influence over a section of the Oxford world. Among others were Mozley, the theologian; Max Müller, the one scholar who has done justice to the literature of India; and Bonamy Price, once Arnold's right-hand man at Rugby, then Professor of Political Economy, but ever ready to talk, vehemently and wisely, on any subject of interest. Jowett had just entered upon his distinguished Mastership of Balliol. Cardinal Manning and Matthew Arnold, with other men of like fame, touched more or less upon the edge of University life, and were frequently seen in the streets of Oxford.

Disraeli had just come into power—Gladstone had just gone out. The duel between the great protagonists was going on with all its heat and acrimony, and Westminster was only two hours from Oxford for students who wished to hear the great orators of Parliament.

Then the students; between 2000 and 3000 of the cream of English youth—full of overflowing energy in body or mind—among them a few whom we fully expected to have a large share in ruling the Empire, and whose subsequent career has justified our expectations, together with numbers who looked forward to entering Parliament as a matter of course—others preparing for the Church and Law—men likely to be among the ruling classes of the country. All these in that grinding mill of thought—High Church, Low Church; Conservative thought and Radical thought.

Even had all these surroundings been lacking Oxford had in itself much to impress the imagination. Think of its History. It was the residence of Alfred. Many of the early Parliaments of the

English nation sat here. A church on Broad Street dates from Saxon times; others are Norman. From the old Castle Queen Matilda escaped over the snow when besieged by Stephen. In St. John's College you see the room in which Charles the First slept when he had transferred his Parliament to Oxford. Everywhere the place is reeking with history.

Then think of all the intellectual and religious movements which have gone on here. The discoveries of Roger Bacon; the Reformation; the Renaissance; Erasmus; Methodism taking its rise among a few students of Christ Church; the High Church movement; the Evangelical reaction. Here one could feel all the life of the past, and all the hopes of the present; all the associations of History, and all the stimulating movement of a young life.

Even as you approach Oxford by the railway the wonderful charm of the place begins to take possession of you, and you feel that it is different from the other cities you have seen. No tall factory chimneys rise in the air; there is little of the loud hum of industry. Spires and domes and battlemented walls of colleges planted amid groves and gardens meet the eye on every side. Avenues bordered by ancient trees, streams that have been the haunts of poets for centuries, walks through lovely college grounds, and over all an atmosphere of repose and calm befitting the home of learned leisure. Climb to the top of the Radcliffe Library and look out upon the beautiful gardens of New College, on the quadrangles of All Souls, the parks of Magdalen, the noble avenues of Christ Church, upon St. Mary's Church, upon the river in the distance, upon the twenty other colleges which make up the great University, and you begin to get an idea of what Oxford really means. Robert Hall, the great preacher, was once taken to the top of the Radcliffe. "Why, Sir, it is like the New Jerusalem" was his spontaneous exclamation, and looking out from this point of vantage on a sunny afternoon in spring or summer one understands what he meant.'

Parkin's diary, describing his experiences at the University, with its fine writing and crowded pages, is now almost undecipherable. He heard Ruskin's first lecture on Art, fell to some extent under his spell, and worked on the too famous road at Hinksey. Ruskin he describes as 'a rough-looking person, with a careless, negligent manner of walking. In speaking he was full of energy and action, vehemently accentuating words and sentences. He reads in an impassioned way, half fierce,

sometimes in a jesting tone, but in the fine passages his voice has a tone of pathos and deep feeling.' In one of his lectures Ruskin paused 'to utter a tirade on Macaulay, who, he said, never in all his life saw the two sides of any subject and whose writing was about as bad as his thought.' On the other hand he read 'one of Carlyle's fine passages with great earnestness and effect.' In a season of bad weather Ruskin said, 'The atmosphere seemed to be getting more pestilential and the sun seemed to be hiding itself, ashamed to see all we are doing.' Of Sir Bartle Frere, whom he heard at a meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Parkin said, 'I never saw anyone who came nearer to my ideal of an easy polished gentleman.' He was deeply impressed by the quiet, earnest eloquence of Dean Stanley, 'a man of elegant figure and simple bearing,' who made no gestures save the motions of his head and seldom looked into the faces of his audience. He records a conversation with Dr. Pusey, then 73 years old, who spoke with anxiety but not despondingly about the condition of England, and who he thought was remarkably self-centred and cared little for criticism or opposition.

Parkin's first speech at the Union made him a marked man. At the time the Government of Mr. Gladstone was in power, and the dominant note in British politics was that of the 'Little England' school, which looked on the independence of the Colonies as their natural and on the whole desirable goal. But in the ideal that colonies, like ripe fruit, necessarily drop from the tree, there may be much to appeal to the reason, but little to warm the heart; and when Parkin, old enough to impress his youthful hearers with a sense of his maturity, but young enough to be of their own generation, rose to plead with

generous emotion the cause of a United Empire, the appeal was irresistible. He was at once taken up by a brilliant group at Balliol, of whom the chief were Asquith, Milner, and 'Tom' Raleigh,[1] with the two latter of whom more especially he formed a lifelong friendship. He was chosen to lead at the Union a debate upon Imperial Federation and triumphed over his new friend Asquith. Before the end of the term he was elected Secretary, an almost unique honour for a freshman.

Shortly after his arrival in Oxford he received a kind and wise letter from Bishop Medley, enclosing a gift of fifteen pounds and much good advice, wisely tendered. The Bishop had also given him letters to several prominent men in the Church, of which he took advantage. He was anxious to visit English schools, and in the fragment records that, 'One of the dons from whom I received much kindness was the Professor of Political Economy—Bonamy Price. He had been one of Arnold's House Masters at Rugby and was devoted to his memory and to the school tradition. I was anxious to see Rugby and he gave me an introduction to the then Headmaster, Dr. Jex-Blake. When I went to present this introduction it was an interesting coincidence to find that the day (June 12th, 1874) was the 32nd anniversary of Arnold's death, and his biographer, Dean Stanley, had come down to speak to the boys.'

In December 1873 he met another of the men who most influenced his life. He was in Winchester attending the Headmasters' Conference. George Ridding, afterwards Bishop of Southwell, was at the time Headmaster of Winchester, and Parkin was in his study talking enthusias-

[1] Afterwards Sir Thomas Raleigh, K.C.S.I., Registrar of the Privy Council, and Legal Member of the Viceroy's Council in India.

tically. Ridding was listening with apparent reserve and some degree of quiet scepticism when the door at the end of the long room opened and a man came in. 'There's your man,' said Ridding to Parkin, and introduced him to the newcomer, Edward Thring, Headmaster of Uppingham.

Two ardent temperaments, lovers of learning, lovers of boys, lovers of the Church of England, met that day. Thring was the son of an English county family, 'Captain of the School' at Eton, and a graduate of Cambridge, but he at once recognized in the son of the New Brunswick bush-farmer his spiritual kinsman. An invitation to visit Uppingham was soon given and accepted. In his diary for March 23rd, 1874, Thring records:

'Since Friday we have had Parkin, a Canadian schoolmaster, here, and his hearty enthusiasm and hope to do something good out there in the school way has cheered me very much. The New World is opening for the work which I have lately looked to. I feel in talking with him the difference between talking to the blind and to the one who sees. I always feel here when I venture to speak at all that it is to the blind, and to have the fresh New World eye in here for once is exceedingly refreshing. We have talked over everything almost pertaining to Schools, and I feel, as I said, refreshed and cheered.'

It is characteristic of another great Balliol man of the day that when, at tea with friends, Parkin spoke of his approaching visit to Uppingham, a quiet member of the group came up and shyly introduced himself. It was Lewis Nettleship, whose untimely death among the Alps was to move Jowett to unwonted emotion. Nettleship had been a favourite pupil of Thring, and to the last each had a strong affection for the other, though increasing

divergence of religious views made their intercourse difficult. He now came to Parkin to ask him to breakfast on the following morning, in order that he might interpret Thring to him, and prevent any possible misunderstanding.

A tour on the Continent occupied the early part of the long vacation. Paris, Florence, Rome, each was to him a romance and a fulfilment; and early in September he was back in Fredericton.

CHAPTER III

WIDENING HORIZONS

As a schoolmaster, Parkin has been described by his pupil, Bliss Carman, one of a group of young poets who had the good fortune to come under his influence :

' I cannot conceive of a teacher with greater power to arouse and inspire his pupils than Dr. Parkin had—a power he possessed in such abundance and spent so lavishly. The secret of his power, of course, was the heart of the man, his consuming enthusiasm for the great cause, the cause of human goodness and advancement everywhere. In this cause he was a mighty soldier. It was this absolutely unequivocal devotion to the finest ideals, this unquestioning devotion to duty, which was the driving force behind that keen, unresting mind and that tireless physique. It was this which lent conviction to his impassioned oratory, and made him so unquestioned a master in the schoolroom—character, a character untarnished as flame. Boys are often slow-witted, but in some things they are wiser than we think, wiser than they know. They are not to be fooled in their judgments of their " spiritual pastors and masters," and do not make heroes of the unworthy. The camouflage of the brilliant pretender or the shallow wit does not deceive them. The mean of spirit, the ungenerous, the unfair, the base, the ultimately weak, win no shred of respect from them. With them character is all that counts, and it is too bad that we do not remain boys all our lives.

The Collegiate School had traditions of its own, an honourable history behind it, and a pride in its past which its new headmaster was careful to foster. The school building, new at that time, and a very plain structure, stood on Brunswick Street opposite the lower end of the Cathedral grounds. Beyond these grounds was the broad, level, green bank of the river, so that with the large yard behind the school we had plenty of space to play. We were encouraged in all kinds of sports and athletics, cricket and football in season, skating and snowshoeing in winter ; swimming, canoeing and boating in summer.

Parkin was especially fond of snowshoeing and paddling, and at one time played football regularly with the boys and even induced some of his assistants to enter a scrimmage. He was the life of the field, of course, and played, as he did everything else, with unsparing zest and energy.

He was a fascinating teacher, this intense and magnetic personality. There was never a dull moment in his classroom or in his society. His fresh and eager spirit and his open mind always on the alert made our lessons with him a pleasure rather than a task. It could never be said of him that his flock looked up and were not fed. His care never failed even of the most backward, and there was an abundance of mental food for the hungriest of his charge. In the classics, which were his chief subjects, his great appreciation of poetry and letters gave unusual scope to the day's work. The amount of Greek and Latin we read before going to college was not so great—two or three books of Virgil, a book or two of Homer, and a book of Horace, in addition to the usual Caesar and Xenophon —but much of it had to be learned by heart, and all of it minutely mastered, with a thorough knowledge of grammar and construction, and an understanding of all the poetic and mythological references. With him as an instructor, it was impossible not to feel the beauty of Virgil's lovely passages and the greatness of Homer as he read them.

I don't remember that my lessons in the old school were ever drudgery. Often we would not cover more than a few lines in the hour. A reference might occur which would bring up a side issue in history or mythology, and then we must see how some modern or contemporary writer had treated the same theme. One of the class would be sent running to Parkin's rooms to fetch a book; Tennyson, perhaps, or Rossetti, or Arnold, or another, and we must listen to his poem on the subject. There were wonderful hours of growth, though we never dreamed of our incomparable good fortune, so rare a tutor. I can hear now that ringing voice in many lines of English poetry, as he read them to us, feeling all their glorious beauty. Small wonder if some of us became infected with the rhythms of the Muses, all unconsciously, and must be haunted for ever by the cadence of golden words.

When Schliemann's great work on his discoveries at Troy was published, Parkin secured a copy at once, and we were all gathered about his desk to look at the handsome illustrations, sharing those priceless treasures. We had, of course, nothing like an art museum in our small city. All we knew of the architecture and sculpture of Greece and Rome we must get from the small cuts in the Classical Dictionary, the invaluable Smith's. When Parkin

returned from his year's leave of absence, however, he brought with him several large albums of fine photographs of all the most famous pieces in the British Museum, the Vatican and elsewhere, for our benefit and enjoyment.

He was a striking figure, conspicuous anywhere. Tall and spare, with a quick swinging step, dressed usually in a well-cut suit of rough grey or heather-mixture tweeds, he looked more the country gentleman than the school teacher, and you would never have mistaken him for a business man. Often you would see him swinging along with that free debonair carriage of loosened energy, with a book or two gathered up in his left hand, and swinging a heavy stick in his right. Perhaps, too, if he was particularly happy and carefree he might be humming to himself as he walked, or half-whistling a random note or two with the keen zest of life. For he was a glad being, though so earnest. He had a fine strong head, like Hannibal's, I think, broad at the back and covered with very dark hair rather loosely worn. His face too was striking, dark-skinned and lean, with a tawny moustache, and rather deep-set, dark grey-blue eyes, not large nor flashing, but very penetrating and observant, and at times glaring with intensity of feeling and conviction.

You would see him come quickly up the schoolroom, or quietly up the Cathedral aisle, and pass to his seat. He never strode, and his head was apt to be carried forward and a little to the side. For all his figure was so erect and vigorous and his personality so forceful, their dignity was innate and ever unassuming. He wore no jewellery other than his gold watch chain with a few charms attached, which he had a habit of twisting and knotting between finger and thumb as he talked. His hands were shapely and not large, with pointed fingers held together, you noticed, as he wrote quickly and energetically ;—the hand of an executive and administrator.

He seldom wore gloves except in winter, and never seemed to mind heat or cold. I don't suppose he ever thought of the weather otherwise than to enjoy it. He was too full of ardour and zest to heed such a trifling inconvenience. How should a glorious seraph, going swiftly about his business over the world, accomplishing some almighty purpose, making many glad as he went, be discomforted by weather !

Discipline in the school was maintained, I think, more through respect for the headmaster's manly, fine and reasonable code and his own evident adherence to it, than by fear of the rod. Corporal punishment was not unknown and was resorted to unhesitatingly at just need, but there were often long periods when it remained

in abeyance. There were rules, of course, and they had to be obeyed, but there were seldom any set punishments for their infraction. If you were guilty of a grave misdemeanour, there was no knowing what the consequences might be. Retribution was certain and was very likely to be swift, but its character was left in unpleasant uncertainty. Anything might happen. It all depended on circumstances, extenuating or otherwise, and upon the delinquent's former record to some extent. It certainly never depended on the headmaster's temper or his mood at the moment. A quick indignation he had, kindling instantly against wrong in the school or in the world, but I never saw him lose his temper. Just wrath against evil or wrongdoing was there, like that which drove the miserable malefactors from the temple, but also there was unfailing patience and understanding and more than forgiveness for the wrongdoer. Ours was a happy lot in that school.

Of all the memories, however, of this great teacher and comrade who never ceased to wear a touch of heroic glory in his boys' sight, none is more thrilling than a glimpse we once had of him in St. John. It must have been on his return from England, I think, when I happened to be in a crowded street of that stirring port with a school friend. Suddenly my chum said:

"Look, there's Parkin!"

"Where?"

"Just going round the corner," and he pointed. "Come on."

In a moment we were in full chase and soon close behind that familiar and gallant figure in all its inspiring young manhood. That was all we wanted, just to see him, and there he was, fresh from Oxford, with all the old fire and vigour, hurrying along and eagerly talking with his companion. We followed a few steps and then dropped behind with quite enough joy for one day. He never knew he had been followed, and we did not know how much we had seen nor that one splendid moment might be a part of the inspiration of a lifetime.'

Similarly, in the dedication to his former headmaster of *Kinship of Nature*, a volume of essays published in 1903, Carman says:

'The service you did him is, next to the gift of life, the greatest that one man can render another.

'Those were the days when we were all young together, whether at Greek or football, tramping for Mayflowers through the early spring woods, paddling on the river in

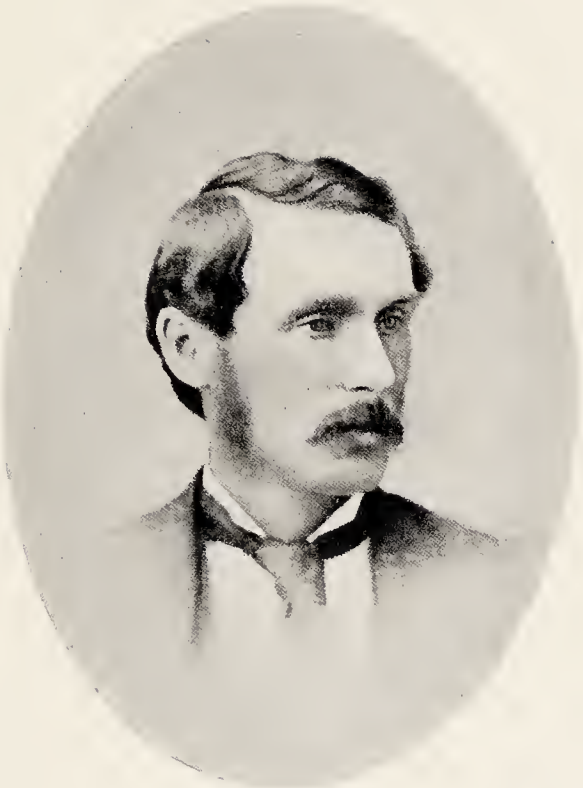
intoxicating Junes, or snowshoeing across bitter drifts in the perishing December wind—always under the leadership of your indomitable ardour. In that golden age we first realized the kinship of Nature, whose help is for ever unfailing, and whose praise is never outsung. I must remind you, too, of those hours in the class-room, when the *Aeneid* was often interrupted by the *Idylls of the King* or *The Blessed Damozel*, and William Morris or Arnold or Mr. Swinburne's latest lyric came to us between the lines of Horace.'

That this is neither rhetoric nor the exceptional praise of an exceptional pupil is proved by the abundant testimony of others. But great as was his success with individuals, he failed with the Province. Early aspirations, the words and the example of Bishop Medley, his friendships at Oxford and at Uppingham, all combined to fill him on his return with the ambition to build up a school which should do the same work in and for Canada that the great public schools were doing in England. The development along these lines of the Collegiate School he urged in private upon all who would listen, and upon the President and Senate of the University in his annual reports of '74, '75, and '76.

By precept and example he had already enlarged the number of University candidates in the School, and in his report of 1875 he stresses the argument that the number will be still further increased by the success of his plan. The Maritime Provinces are sprinkled with small universities, most of them sectarian, and Parkin pointed out that since his last report two of these had established residences for Preparatory pupils, and that a third had begun to enlarge. Such competition must be met if the Provincial University was ever to rise above insignificance.

'The reasons why Colleges must depend for their success upon the higher schools are obvious, and seem to me to be operative in this Province in an unusual degree. In the scattered Grammar and Superior Schools of the Province it is impossible to get boys together in sufficient number to create that enthusiasm for higher education which is the only force that can overcome the many attractions of commercial life. Nothing can better illustrate the results of allowing this tendency towards a business life to go on unchecked than the fact that the City of Saint John, with its large population and comparative wealth, furnishes a quite insignificant proportion of students to the University:—a smaller number indeed than many country districts. I believe that the only remedy for this is to be found in massing the boys together in greater numbers during what are really the decisive years of their lives, say from thirteen to sixteen, and I am satisfied that where a school-world can thus be formed large enough to fill boyish ambitions, it is a comparatively easy task to create what I have called an enthusiasm for higher education, which naturally leads a boy to aspire to what I have called a Collegiate course.'

His demands were moderate; an expenditure of $4000 to $5000, and the use of some rooms in the old Collegiate School building. He ended by saying: 'If the school should meet with any large share of success, the position of Headmaster would probably become one of greater emolument than at present, so that the Senate could always command the services of able men, who would have every inducement to exert themselves for the development of the school. It is by means precisely similar that the Masterships of the Public Schools of England are made so valuable that a constant supply of the ablest men from



[*photo. Notman, St. John, N.B.*

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the Universities is secured for the profession. It is obvious that at present the pecuniary risk to the Headmaster will be considerable, but this I am prepared to undertake, in the hope of ultimate success, which will depend entirely upon the reputation that can be won for the school.'

The Senate did not move, and in June 1876 Parkin returned to his text in an address to the Alumni as University Orator at the Encaenia. His speech was long and serious, unrelieved by a single gleam of humour, but the glow of the still youthful orator shines even to-day from the printed page. In education he was not an original thinker, but he had got firm hold of certain fundamental principles, and could make his ideas very vivid. In words which would have delighted Thring he paints a great Public School on the lines of Uppingham, and tells what such a foundation could do for Canada.

'What must the character and direction of such development be? The only justification we have for taking boys away from home to be educated is, that we give them a better place for training purposes. This implies a great deal. Any plan for the mere concentration of teaching power by endowment or otherwise, which does not provide for the complete personal control by the masters of pupils from a distance, would be utterly useless and inoperative, inasmuch as in that case we would still be compelled, as we constantly are now, to advise the parents of such children not to send them to the school, knowing certainly that without this control their connection with it may result in more harm than good Again, the condition of intimate personal relationship between master and scholar, which I believe to be an absolute necessity for the highest moral and intellectual training, should prevent

us from thinking of that barrack system by which numbers of boys are crowded together so as to be fed and repressed at the least possible expense; a system which has done much to make boarding-schools deservedly unpopular. A house, specially built and equipped for the purpose, capable of containing only such a limited number of boys as experience would show could be thoroughly trained and individually cared for by a single master, is, I am fully satisfied, the true unit of a large school. In such a house a boy would not have to give up all the better influences of the home he had left behind, and would in addition have the great advantage of being under skilled training, while in the larger life of the whole institution he would find a school-world large enough to stimulate and satisfy his boyish ambitions, and one in which his enthusiasm would be aroused by that sympathy of numbers in the common pursuit of knowledge which is the strongest of all influences to bring upon a boy, at the critical point of his life, to determine him toward intellectual pursuits. The adoption of such a unit, moreover, reduces to a minimum the primary expense, and the natural growth of the school can be provided for by the multiplication of such houses. I am satisfied, that when once fairly started, such a school could, if wisely controlled, be made not only self-supporting, but self-enlarging.'

With somewhat undue confidence in the generosity of the little community he pleaded that such a school should be established by private benefactions, as Uppingham had been, rather than by public funds. He went on to demand freedom for the teacher, especially in the internal management of the school, uncontrolled by any official Jack-in-office or other well-meaning amateur, and again urged increase of salaries, not so much all round, as by

the giving of ' positions of competence to be won as prizes by the strongest ; in the natural course of human action we need only expect that the highest talent and energy will drift in the direction of rewards which at least promise independence.' He ended in his invariable way of taking his audience with him to the heights, by a call to the Alumni to make school and University alike ' a centre of noble life as well as of mental culture.'

The address was republished in full in the St. John *Daily Telegraph*, which made it the subject of its chief editorial, and it was much discussed. Dr. Rand, the Provincial Superintendent of Education, at the Alumni dinner, criticized the suggestion of a residential school, saying that ' he did not think we could make those schools, which were used almost exclusively by the English nobility and gentry, our models. They could not take a patch of one system and apply it to another country.' He pointed out that in Scotland education was held in higher regard than in England ; that the proportion of University graduates was much larger, but that the system of education was based upon the day school.

Unable to obtain help either from friends or from the University or the Provincial Government, Parkin resolved to make the experiment himself. In 1877 he rented a large, picturesque, rather barn-like house, ' Reka Dom,' which looked out across the main road to the St. John River. It had formerly been the residence of Major and Mrs. Ewing,[1] and is mentioned more than once in her stories. In this he installed himself and a Lady Housekeeper, with whose help he hoped to train boys who should in intellectual ardour and Christian manliness rival the

[1] Authoress of *Jackanapes* and many other exquisite stories ; in later life a great friend of Edward Thring. ' Reka Dom ' is spoken of in *Mrs. Over-the-way's Remembrances*.

best products of Eton or Uppingham. One knows not whether to smile or sigh at his failure. The Lady Housekeeper proved to be more anxious to make a home for the declining years of herself and of her children than to throw herself with missionary zeal into a great educational experiment. A number of well-to-do New Brunswickers, with sighs of relief, deposited at 'Reka Dom' the backward and troublesome scapegraces with whom previous schools had been unable to deal. After two years the housekeeper resigned, and the Headmaster's young wife added to the care of the home and of a two-months-old baby the housekeeping of a riotous boarding-house. At the end of a year flesh and blood could stand it no longer. 'Reka Dom' was abandoned; a smaller house in the vicinity was taken; and the Collegiate School confined itself thenceforth to day pupils.

Eager, ardent, never long cast down, Parkin gave little outward sign of depression; but his failure sank deep, and when, in 1899, he was again called on to be University Orator at the Encaenia of the University of New Brunswick, he reminded his hearers of his speech twenty years before. By this time he had become Principal of Upper Canada College and a national figure. He was under no obligation to spare his audience, and he broke out at his native Province and his native country in a speech in which the personal note is made pardonable by its note of indignant sincerity and by his feeling that he was avenging not only his own wrongs but those of his profession.

'As you know, that old dream of mine of a great public school here was never realized. The time was not ripe. The necessary support and encouragement were never given. The Collegiate School, out of which I believed and still believe it would have been possible to develop such an institution, exists no longer; its history and traditions, older and more honourable than any other in the

Province, have been, unwisely as I cannot but think, sacrificed to other ideas: our boys are in many cases sent away to seek in Quebec, Ontario, England or Scotland that particular form of public school life which I aimed at and which they cannot get here, and I am myself engaged in doing in a distant province what I once hoped to do in New Brunswick. No failure to secure the realization of one's ideals could well be more complete.

But reading over once again, as I have lately done, that old address of mine on Secondary Education given in this place twenty-three years ago, I find that every conviction which I then tried to express has only been strengthened by the lapse of time. It is these same convictions, these same ideals, which give direction to my present work at Upper Canada College; if I can in the next few years there get them established as working principles I shall be more than satisfied; even if success is partial one may at least lay foundations on which stronger wills and clearer minds may build.

Anyone who undertakes the creation of a powerful centre of educational influence or attempts to give a new turn to educational effort is beset here in Canada with difficulties which the public does not understand, and, I sometimes fear, does not even care to understand. These difficulties are very real ones; they profoundly affect the future of our country; they require clear statement and drastic treatment. I personally feel under a strong obligation to deal with them publicly. Circumstances have placed me in what is the best school position in Canada. In actual money it is the best paid, though by no means equal to the large obligations of the place, nor equal to what I know I can command in other walks of life. But it leaves me free to speak with absolute independence and without any sense of personal irritation on the difficulties of the schoolmaster life.

This is a place, again, where it is proper to speak frankly on such questions. The time, too, is opportune. There never was a period in the history of the country when men concerned for its educational interests had stronger reason to make their voices heard. Canada is manifestly on the eve of very rapid material developments. New sources of wealth are being discovered—new channels of trade opened—the whole West shows the impulse of a new life, and this is beginning to react strongly upon the East. The country is entering upon a large national career. One asks himself whether the conditions are favourable for making the higher and intellectual interests of the country keep pace with its material progress and its widening outlook?

I do not think that anyone who knows me as many here know me would think me predisposed to take an otherwise than hopeful

view of any given set of circumstances. Friends have told me that nothing but a cheerful optimism could have carried me through some bits of work which I have undertaken. Yet I am free to acknowledge that it requires all the optimism that is in me to face the present schoolmaster outlook in this Dominion with a cheerful mind.

It is rather a commonplace with us to say that we Canadians place a high value upon education. I am sorry to say that it is only in a very modified sense that this claim can be justified. The very first fact which a man runs up against when he begins to organize a great educational establishment is the low estimate which is put upon the teacher's work.

In a theoretical sense what I have said is not true. We are accustomed to hear the most glowing and unquestionably sincere eulogisms made on the dignity, nobility and usefulness of the teacher's vocation. But facts count for more than words, and the remark is strictly true when one comes to measure things by practical standards. Personal experience may seem egotistical, but it goes more directly to the point than any other. I devoted fifteen years of the most strenuous exertion that I ever made in my life to teaching work here in New Brunswick and chiefly in Fredericton. I am not afraid to stand before this or any tribunal to be judged as to whether I put my best heart into it or not; whether it was successful or not. Yet from the time I was married I had to earn some hundreds of dollars a year in outside ways in the effort to make ends meet in leading a fairly simple life, and I left the place with a heritage of debt which for some time more or less crippled later work. Let us put it down in black and white and say that fourteen hundred dollars a year was the highest pay that the best school position in the Province of New Brunswick and in its Capital had to offer with which to support and educate a growing family. I remember that this price for one's work was only reached with difficulty. A figure like this serves better than generalities in making the point one is enforcing quite clear to the outside world. You can understand that while I have always felt a great affection for this community, and owe to it some of the greatest blessings of life from other points of view, I have never felt towards it an overwhelming sense of gratitude for opportunities offered or success won as a teacher.

The real reward lay in the work itself. Even yet it makes my pulse beat more quickly to recall the enthusiasm of those early teaching days, when for months and years I never stepped into that old schoolroom without a sense of elastic joy and hopefulness as I faced the classes of clear-eyed boys and girls—more earnest and keen

and studious than any I have ever had to deal with since; feeling that I had something to give them; and watching upon their faces the dawn of high intelligence and noble purpose, and the promise of that good work in the world which so many of them have since fulfilled. They do not forget this, I am sure, any more than I do. The hard facts of schoolmaster life, however, made the maintenance of this enthusiasm impossible, and when a call to wider, though not higher work came, I accepted it because I saw no further outlook as a teacher here.

But my experience is not singular. In fact, I was in a far better position than most of my fellow teachers, and I have little doubt that other workers worthier than I are now in the same position. And this is why I speak so decisively and openly upon the point to-day.

This position of things must be changed, if we Canadians are to be reckoned a people who put education in the front of national interests. As a matter of fact, the moment I left the teaching profession temporarily I found my market value rise at once. But even when, filled by the old enthusiasm for a great cause, I returned to it with this increased value, I found it necessary to create the conditions which enabled me to continue work as a teacher. If, as I hope, I shall be able to hand over to my successor at Upper Canada College a place which is more nearly a professional prize than any other in Canada, it is not due to any public feeling upon the matter, or to any provision made by the system of which it is a part. For the first two or three years I had to spend upon the place more than my income from it. If things are better now, I feel for that reason more especially bound to challenge from the point of vantage I have gained public attention in behalf of workers perhaps far more devoted but less fortunate. Besides that, the old facts still stare me in the face, and present the gravest obstacle to educational progress.

On my teaching staff at Upper Canada College I have fourteen University men; a sufficient nucleus for a great and powerful Public School. Yet I cannot to-day honestly recommend any young man of marked ability among them to remain in the profession, simply because he would be likely to do far better in any other occupation to which he devoted the same energy which he throws into his teaching work.

If again I have a youth of exceptional power among my pupils, I cannot in common honesty advise him to become a teacher, nor shall I be able to do so until the public mind has been aroused to the necessity for creating adequate educational careers. Can you not now understand why I say that it requires a deal of optimism to make one face the educational outlook of Canada cheerfully?

I would wish a son of mine to be trained by men of culture and travel—men in contact with good society and with people of affairs —men easily on a level with the best thought and life around them. I imagine that any intelligent father with ordinary ambitions for his children would feel in the same way. This fixes a kind of social and intellectual standard for the teachers of our best schools. But you cannot get men of this type if you expect them to get their education, complete their culture, and maintain their social position on salaries such as telegraph companies pay their operators, or railways give in the lower grades of their service. . . .

This state of public opinion you Canadian people must change. In practice the thing must be done in different ways in different places. At Upper Canada College I hope to do it, if I am permitted, by steadily increasing the fees till the school is able to retain permanently the services of first-class men and create for them a career. Till this is done we must rely upon the assistance of those who believe in the work and are able to give support. In Montreal vast sums are being generously spent on educational buildings by private donors. My advice there and elsewhere would be to spend less on buildings and more on men. In this Province, instead of a score or two of struggling Grammar and High Schools, I would have half as many in which men could find a sufficient career. Instead of trying to have a little schoolhouse and a second or third class schoolmistress within easy reach of every New Brunswick farm, I would concentrate the work and let the children walk further to a larger schoolhouse ruled over by a first-class teacher, man or woman.

A great effort was made by the last generation to establish free schools and erect buildings suitable for teaching purposes. Let the effort of this generation be to place the schoolmaster in a position worthy of his high calling and vocation. Till we do this we are not laying rightly and truly the foundations of our State.

I would suggest that every large and well-to-do community in this Province should provide that it may have one or two at least of its teaching positions on a level with the best of its other professional or business posts. If there is public spirit equal to doing this, then let the support be given from the public purse—if not, then let the public pay be supplemented by the private endowment of those whose highest interests are wrapped up in the training of their children. . . .

Nothing seems to me more to be regretted in the history of these Provinces than the way in which the rich and powerful families of the past generations have failed to transmit to their descendants the culture—the social and political influence—the personal force

which should have been the result of their better opportunities. The men who are at the head of affairs to-day are not the descendants of those who were at the head of affairs fifty years ago. Some people, blinded by dislike of anything hereditary, look upon this fact as a democratic gain. I do not hesitate to affirm on the other hand that it represents a very great national loss. We are compelled to manufacture our leading men and our governing social forces anew each generation out of the raw material which comes from our farms and workshops. Robust and vigorous it no doubt is, but one who was brought up on a New Brunswick farm may perhaps say without offence that it is often very crude. There is little conservation of that culture and personal superiority which give their highest tone and greatest efficiency to old communities. The loss which Canada and the United States have suffered from the absence of those conditions which tend to conserve this culture and efficiency is incalculable.

This is one reason at least why the wealthy people of our Province should support and strengthen a place of higher training such as this. They should bring within easy reach of their children every possible intellectual advantage and stimulus.

It will not be enough to send them away to some distant place or University to get what they cannot get here. The higher intellectual life of a country should not be disassociated from the ordinary daily life if it is to have the greatest influence over the latter. Culture should have at least its roots in the soil where it is to grow.

If a young Canadian of ability and patriotism should ask my advice as to the training which will best prepare him to be of service to his country I would say to him: Study first in the schools and colleges of our own country; go then to the best foreign centres of instruction in your special line of work; learn what England, France, Italy or Germany can teach you; and after that, when your provincialisms have been brushed away by contact with larger men and greater affairs, come back to Canada to give to it all that you have gained of wisdom and culture.

But I would make the Canadian training very definitely preliminary to the larger one. There is great danger, if a man leaves his own country in search of culture at too early an age, that he will always be something of an exotic when he returns. He should strike his root deep in his native soil; then whatever is grafted upon that native stem will flourish more naturally and healthfully.'

His ups and downs during the years in Fredericton which followed his return from Oxford are pictured in his

correspondence. Writing to his mentor, Thring, he was apt to take a despondent note, possibly not without a desire for consolation from the strong soul he was addressing. In 1875 Thring replied to one outburst:

'I differ from you in not thinking the nine years you have spent in a thankless and comparatively barren soil and work as wasted. They were wanted to build you up, to store up in you the quiet reserve of thought and experience that will, please God, yet give you a great work in your hands.'

But his tone was usually cheery. At a *pension* table in Rome, in 1874, he had met Miss Erskine, daughter of the Dean of Ripon and granddaughter of Lord Erskine. They seem to have formed an instant friendship very like that which so suddenly developed between himself and Thring. For twelve years they exchanged frequent letters, and fortunately those of Parkin have been preserved. They are full of intimate gossip, interesting speculation upon many questions, and the frankest expression of his opinions and ambitions. From Miss Erskine, through those years, there came to him a regular and continuous supply of British magazines and periodicals, through which, as he put it, he was able to keep himself 'parallel with the lines of English thought.' Of his school he said that, as compared with English schools, he had but a small amount of material but a 'noble lot of fellows,' of some of whom he entertained the highest hopes intellectually and morally. 'My plans of forming it into a large school would require time to work out, for against the difficulties of want of means and want of help I can only oppose hope, resolution, and the trust of a few friends, but these are strong powers and my boys share

my ambition.' In 1875 he writes with enthusiasm of a holiday with four of his students along the seashore in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, and admits a growing ambition to establish a school corresponding to the public schools of England as the best means of doing good to Canada and influencing the character of the next generation. But he declared that, as it was, his school was doing good work. He had twenty-five boys preparing for a Collegiate course and for three years his boys had been at the head of the College classes. In a letter written in March 1876 he writes: 'When one has only begun to educate himself rather late in life, and then adopted the profession of a teacher, he has not much time, you may be sure, to rest upon his oars. I have had to work a great deal to overcome my want of early training in Classics, and every step one takes seems to open up a new world of study as one's prospect grows wider. This winter I found that I could not any longer get along without French, so I put myself under the care of the French master of my school, conversing with him two hours a week and reading eight or ten hours privately. After about three months of this, I find I am beginning to read quite easily, and I would not be utterly helpless in conversation. I found French so easy as compared with Latin and Greek that my dreams are growing more extravagant, and Italian and German do not seem so impossible as they once did. I am the more impelled to think of these on account of the visit to Europe I have promised myself somewhere in the years to come, and besides, even if that should fail, I want some glimpse into their literatures. I cannot enjoy reading translations of great works, so if I am ever to read Dante or Goethe it must be in the original.'

In June 1876 he wrote: 'I send you to-day a copy of one of our papers containing the greater part of an "oration" I had to prepare for our College Anniversary. I think you know me well enough to feel sure that I feel much more gratification from the hope that perhaps it may help us here and strengthen our hands somewhat in the great cause that is my life work than from any personal feeling caused by the flattering way in which it is referred to. Often since I embarked upon a teacher's life and when I was spending almost my last dollar in England in trying to get clear ideas about the best ways to work, the task of moving in any marked degree our higher education seemed an almost hopeless one. But moral forces, at least, are now gathering steadily around us, and I cannot say that I altogether regret the pecuniary difficulties which at present stay our hands, for I am satisfied that the more people are forced back at first upon first principles of action the better it is ultimately for all true causes. Still, I must confess that sometimes I long to hold in my hands a little of the power that money gives, so plainly do I see how it could be used in noble ways. But this will all end in God's own time, and as He sees best. If not always full of hope, I am full of resolve to do my best as faithfully as I can.'

In April 1877 he rejoices that at last 'after fifteen years of life among strangers' he has a house of his own, although thwarted in his purpose to have 'a large establishment built for the purpose.' Thus far his was a day school only, but he believed the boys had gone away with a love of their old school and a love of knowledge. 'I hope by getting hold of them in their home life as well as in their daily school work we shall be able to influence them much more powerfully and permanently.'

In July 1878 he married. Writing in May to Miss Erskine he says :

' I have now quite a houseful of boys, and outside of the housework the school has about 150 pupils and is in a flourishing condition. A master's life is one of continuous strain and hardship, but it has its own rewards. One more bit of personal information I must give you before I close, and that is that I expect to get married within a few weeks, about the 10th of July, when vacation begins. I think I have been very fortunate, and know that I am very happy. My intended wife is an old pupil of my own—about twenty years of age—in perfect sympathy with my work—an earnest student herself and yet a practical woman. Poor like myself, she knows what it is to meet and overcome difficulties. She is a happy, cheerful girl, and will, I am sure, make my work brighter for me, and lighter too she thinks, for she is a very good classical scholar and, as I keep a housekeeper to manage everything, she hopes to help me. So you see I have great reason to thank God for much goodness to me in the years since I saw and knew you.'

His wife, Annie Connell Fisher, came of a well-known Loyalist family, which had long been prominent in New Brunswick, and had a fine tradition of public service. Her grandfather had written the first history of the Province. Two uncles had served in the Provincial Cabinet, and one of them had been a prominent delegate to the conferences at Charlottetown, Quebec and London, from which sprang the Dominion of Canada. Neither Thring nor Medley influenced Parkin as deeply as did his wife, a woman with a spirit as ardent and as emotional as his own. In the darkest hours she never faltered in her belief in him and in his greatness ; and to a man of his

sanguine temper, belief was of incalculably more importance than criticism, though this too could be given on occasion. Only a fool would attempt to sum up the range and depth of the influence upon a man of such a wife; but it may at least be said that she increased his sense of artistic beauty and seemliness, as opposed to intellectual, and also his sense of the need, more especially in a young country, of true dignity and order alike in worship and in social life. 'Mr. Parkin was always a gentleman,' said a somewhat critical friend in recalling the Fredericton days, and the feeling of the necessity of being not only a man and a Christian but also a gentleman was one which his wife's presence made still stronger in him. But what it meant to such a man to have at his side a wife of untiring devotion, endless shrewdness, and entire willingness to face any emergency for his sake, cannot be set down in words.

But whatever consolations he had, and they were many, he grew more and more restless, and more and more pined for a larger stage. Religion was perhaps the deepest thing in him, and long before he had become a national figure he was among the recognized leaders of the Church of England in New Brunswick and again and again a delegate to the General Synod. In a letter to Miss Erskine (September 22nd, 1880) he describes with boyish frankness a triumph which one knows from contemporary comment, and from messages of congratulation which he received from leaders in the Church, he does not exaggerate:

'I have just returned,' he said, 'from attending the General Synod for the Dominion of Canada held in Montreal. Montreal is the most central point, but the fact that I had to go nearly a thousand miles to attend it will give you an idea of the great extent of our country, since there is another Ecclesiastical Province of

still greater size in the west. I told you in my last letter that one chief subject of my thoughts was the future of the English Church in this country. It was therefore with feelings of deep interest that I went for the first time as a delegate to the General Synod, which corresponds in some degree to Convocation with you. Some of the subjects which we had to consider were of the very greatest importance. The one which interested me most of all was the problem of how our Church is to grapple with the great task of supplying the want of our great north-west country, where, as it were, a nation is almost being born in a day, so great and rapid is the influx of population. A motion in reference to the question was moved, and upon this motion I spoke at some length. You will understand from what I have said or written to you that it was a question of which my heart was quite full. The chief points on which I dwelt were that our Church had never yet risen to a full recognition of its work as a great missionary Church—that the English people, now face to face with the whole world by the growth of colonies and the extension of commerce, was evidently designed by Providence to carry the gospel to every land, that here in Canada the vital strength and reality of our Church was being tested away from all Establishments and State help or control, and that now a crisis was come when we must make a supreme effort to do our duty to the great new country which is being opened up among us and which, if neglected now, would be lost to the Church—if attended to now will soon become a centre of strength and Christian influence upon the world. I never felt a greater consciousness of earnestness than when speaking on this great subject, but I was scarcely prepared for what followed when numbers of the most distinguished men present came to congratulate me on my speech, some saying that it was the best speech they had ever listened to in the Synod—others that the Church here had been lifted to a higher level than it had reached before. You see, I write of this success of mine to you as frankly as a boy writes to his mother of his school victories. I do so consciously, only hoping that you will read between the lines the truth, that the cause is the real thing that moves me, not the personal success—that instead of feeling proud of any powers of speech I happen to have had given me, it only makes me pray more earnestly that it may be used more faithfully in the service of God, of His Church, and the country He has given me. We have formed a Board of Missions to deal with this great matter, and intend first to do our best among ourselves. And when we have raised all the money we possibly can it is probable that we may make a special appeal to the Church at home to help us. The vast numbers of our own people who are going to the west along the Pacific Railway and

the greater numbers who are pouring into the country from England, make us feel that we have ground for making a very strong appeal for help. The next fifteen or twenty years will decide whether this vast country will be saved for the Church of England or be left to the social and spiritual demoralization which marked the settlement of the Western States of America.'

To this speech and to his triumph he often referred in later life. It was a great spiritual experience, after which he was never quite the same again. From it he dated the first consciousness of his power to sway a great audience, to which his earlier speeches, even at Oxford, all seemed to have led up. These had been delivered to audiences of which he felt himself at least the mental and spiritual equal; at Montreal he had influenced the best brains of the Church which he so deeply reverenced, and had won unstinted praise from his own father in God, Bishop Medley.

Education and the Church were never long separated in Parkin's mind, and with them from very early days was linked his belief in the British Empire and its spiritual mission. In the 'eighties the tide of Little Englandism, though still strong, was beginning to recede, and a counter wave of Imperialism was rising. In 1884 the Imperial Federation League was formed, with its headquarters in London. In 1885 a branch was formed in Canada, of which he was from the first a member. In his last letter to Miss Erskine, written from Fredericton in June 1888, just before he left for England to collect material for the *Life* of Thring, 'which from the circumstances under which the work has come to me is a sacred duty,' he also intimates that he may find other work in England. 'Some of my friends,' he said, 'with large political ideas want me to stay longer in England and work with them, and altogether the problems

of life seem complicated, though, on the whole, encouraging.'

While in England the officials of the League put before him a proposal, which he soon accepted. While Imperial sentiment was by no means over strong in any part of the Empire, it appeared to be at its weakest, or at any rate to meet with the most open opposition, in Australia. Let him go there and by his eloquence sway them into saner paths. The prospect was too alluring to be rejected. He returned to Canada, resigned his position in the Collegiate School, made some hurried arrangements for his wife and young family, and early in 1889 started across Canada for San Francisco, there to take ship for Auckland.

CHAPTER IV

THE AUSTRALASIAN MISSION

PARKIN's journey to New Zealand and Australia was made at the invitation of the branches of the League in Victoria and Tasmania and with the approval of the branch in Canada and the parent League in Great Britain. There was, no doubt, a clear design that he should speak to the Australasian people as a fellow Colonial rather than as an accredited agent of federationists in the United Kingdom. Then, as now, there was an element in the Colonies, as active in Australia as in Canada, eager to represent the movement for organic union of the Empire as deliberately intended to maintain the authority of Downing Street, to repress the growth of national sentiment in the Colonies and to extort colonial contributions towards the support of the Imperial army and navy. It was felt that those arguments would have less weight and effect against a Canadian federationist than they would have if employed to discredit a direct representative of the League in the Mother Country. This, however, was but an incidental consideration ; he was chosen for the mission because of his great and peculiar qualifications for the task committed to his hands. He found both New Zealand and Australia less ready to receive his message than perhaps he had foreseen, but despite coldness, indifference, official prudence and popular distrust he achieved a far greater triumph than in his most sanguine moments he could have anticipated.

Early in February 1889, he set out from his home in New Brunswick on his way across Canada, and addressed large gatherings at Halifax, Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Vancouver, and elsewhere. On March 9th he sailed from San Francisco for Auckland. The voyage was not uneventful, for his ship ran into the celebrated storm of March 1889, during which the *Calliope* fought her way out of Apia harbour, and in so doing added one more incident to the heroic story of British seamanship and British steam coal. His arrival was comparatively unheralded, and it is apparent from his letters that New Zealand knew little of the man or of his mission and was not even curious about federation. It was, however, not difficult to be interviewed, and in New Zealand as in Australia there are newspapers hardly inferior to those of Great Britain, sober, unsensational, singularly accurate in reporting, careful in statement and fair in argument. There were only thirty people at his first meeting in Auckland. The Mayor was chairman, and he explained that in the subject to be discussed 'the people of New Zealand took but a languid interest, chiefly because they did not know its bearing on the relations of the Colonies to the Mother Country.' Parkin, he said, 'came from Canada, a country with little in common with New Zealand except ties of blood and race; but if federation was good for Canada it would be good for New Zealand.' At the outset Parkin admitted that in New Zealand there was lack of interest in federation because they were shut out from the influences which were forcing federation on Canada and Australia. There was a prevalent desire among Anglo-Saxon people for unity, but there were great causes at work tending to separation. If the people of the United States, like those of Canada and Australia, had

remained politically united with Britain, would they be willing to have their policy controlled by thirty millions of people in Britain while they numbered sixty millions? The Colonies must have full recognition of their citizenship in the Empire. Federationists contended that the permanent unity of the Empire was the greatest destiny to which the Colonies could aspire. If Canada became independent England would lose the coaling stations and coal beds at Halifax in the East and at Vancouver in the West, while in the South Pacific all the coaling stations were in Australia and New Zealand. Thus Canada, New Zealand and Australia were essential to Great Britain's existence, since as a trading nation she must command the world's waterways. On the other hand a blow struck at Britain would imperil the markets for wheat, wool and other chief products of the Colonies. Australasia had a great and growing trade through the Suez Canal and with India, and thus would suffer more than England if the Canal was blocked and Russia held India and the China Seas. The docks of Australasia and the transcontinental railways of Canada were all contributions to the defence of the Empire, but there was more to be done by the Colonies when their organization was further advanced and their resources more fully developed. It was said that owing to the great distances separating the Colonies and the Mother Country any parliamentary federation was impracticable and impossible, but steam and electricity had annihilated distance. The theory of the federationists was absolute freedom in local self-government and common government in matters of common interest. England was farther from Free Trade and nearer Fair Trade than was commonly believed. There were four hundred million people in the Empire and all climates and products,

and what was wanted was a tariff between Great Britain and her Colonies discriminating against foreign countries. Such an Imperial fiscal policy would divert British emigration from the United States to the Colonies, and assist enormously the development of their resources. A federated Empire, whose great interest would be peace, could cut adrift from European politics and be secure from foreign attack. If it was said that the Empire was scattered over the earth and therefore peculiarly vulnerable, the necessity for unity to ensure safety was established. In federation there was the best guarantee of the permanence of British civilization, and the impulse must come from the Colonies, since Great Britain naturally shrank from any course of action which could be regarded as an attempt to force a policy upon the outlying portions of the Empire.

These were the arguments with which Parkin began his campaign, and these arguments, with variations to suit local conditions, elaborated, extended and emphasized as occasion required, with a constant accretion of fresh material, he addressed to many meetings in New Zealand and the States of Australia. At first there was reluctance in some communities to organize a meeting, but once he had spoken, the charm of his gracious personality, his deep sincerity of purpose and the persuasive quality of his message invariably secured him a further hearing, and often the calls were more numerous than he could answer. He was naturally also the recipient of official and private hospitality, through which he was able to expound the doctrine of federation with only less effect than in his public addresses and through the newspapers whose space was always at his command. In New Zealand he spoke at Auckland, Christchurch, and Lyttleton. At Welling-

ton and Dunedin no meetings could be arranged. At Auckland he had much talk with Sir George Grey, who had impressed Froude so deeply, and with Admiral Fairfax, who was very gracious to the Canadian visitor. At Wellington he was the guest of Sir William Fitzherbert and had a long interview with the Prime Minister, Sir Harry Atkinson. There is no doubt that through the Press and the speeches which he delivered, he deeply affected public feeling in New Zealand. The *Auckland News* said that everywhere he met with the most favourable reception: 'In New Zealand there may be—or rather there may have been—apathy, but opposition appears to be almost non-existent.' The *Christchurch Press* described his address as 'able, eloquent and stirring.' The *Lyttleton Times* spoke of his mission as 'a new and happy departure,' and declared, 'What Mr. Parkin has enabled us to see with startling clearness is that the time has come for a discussion of this great question with a view to an almost immediate practical result.' Various branches of the League were formed in New Zealand, and as a result of his speeches there was a new birth of Imperial feeling and a keener realization of the necessity for close and active co-operation between the Colonies and the Mother Country.

In Tasmania he found a more friendly atmosphere than in New Zealand. At Hobart there was a branch of the League and an organized body of disciples. The Press had excited interest and expectation by sympathetic accounts of his meetings in New Zealand and by eager examination of his arguments. He spoke at a dinner of the Hobart Chamber of Commerce, at a meeting in the Town Hall, and at a third meeting which took the form of an open debate between the advocates and opponents of

federation. Here he had his first revelation of phases of feeling in Australia which had more vigorous expression later at Sydney. Among the most active opponents of British connection were the bulk of the Irish Catholics, as tempestuously in favour of Home Rule as any element in Ireland itself, and a native Australian party, never formidable but then influential in many Australian constituencies. In 1889, too, the Australian States were at the crisis of the long struggle for a federal union, and there was some indisposition to consider federation of the Empire until federation of Australia was accomplished. At the open debate in Hobart one speaker argued that Imperial federation implied the necessity of an Imperial Parliament, and asked if that was instituted how could it enforce its mandates? The only way would be by judicial decision or by the power of the sword, and the first cannon shot that came from land or sea would be the death-blow to Imperial federation. Another speaker contended that if the Australian States should see fit to leave the parental connection it would be better to leave naturally and with good feeling, which could not be done if they were artificially connected. A third speaker declared that there were only two classes of federationists, the good and the bad, and the only thing against the good was that they were mistaken. When men made an agreement in black and white it was the first step to a quarrel. The federationists wanted an Empire that would 'boss the world,' but he would rather be a citizen of the poorest nation than belong to a great country whose object was self-aggrandisement. Still another speaker held that they did not want Imperial but Colonial federation in Australia, not a federation for war but a federation for progress. One other declared that he did not like the sample of federation

to be seen in the British Isles and suggested that a nation that had passed eighty-eight Irish Coercion Bills in ninety years was not fit to govern others. Imperial federation was also described as 'a Tory dodge to enslave the world,' as 'national annihilation' and as a step towards 'German despotism.' There were warnings also against the heavy taxation which would be laid upon the Colonies for defence and against the position of dependence which they must occupy in any representative Imperial Parliament. It cannot be uninteresting to recall Parkin's answer to these objections, effective at the moment, if still unavailing to advance directly the cause for which he contended. He argued that the need for national unity was the great motive which produced the union of the American States under a federal government. All the States were independent communities under federation. The State of New York in the Senate, which had the power to make war, had two representatives for its 4,500,000 people, while Rhode Island and Delaware, each with only 500,000 people, had the same representation. Tasmania would have relatively ten times greater representation in an Imperial Parliament than the larger States of the Empire. He wondered 'whether the selfishness of the working man in Australia was going to match the selfishness of the landlord in the old hemisphere.' All his heart was in the movement for federation of Australia as a direct step towards federation of the Empire, but he doubted if a Canadian should interfere in a purely domestic controversy. He had nothing to do with 'any royal brood, but he would say there was a mother of a royal brood who had done more than any woman in history for her people.' He instanced Lord Rosebery and Archbishop O'Brien of Nova Scotia as ardent Home

Rulers, and emphasized the view of the Archbishop that the way to Home Rule was through federation of the Empire. The public journals of the time leave us no room for doubt that he disarmed if he did not convince his opponents, and that in Hobart as in Launceston, where he held two or three singularly successful meetings, he made a deep and lasting personal impression. Of one of the meetings at Hobart it was said that at the close of his address the people 'rose *en masse* with waving hats and ringing voices.' The *Tasmanian Mail* said: 'We have had apostles of federation before, but this delegate from the Canadian League may fairly be said to have eclipsed them all, not only by the breadth of the views which he holds but by the crispness and pertinacity with which he has given utterance to them. To say that he has given satisfaction to the federationists in the Colony would be to express very feebly public opinion on the matter.' One meeting in Tasmania was described as 'a very noble one met to hear a noble subject magnificently treated.' It was said again, 'Laudation, indeed, becomes almost impertinence when applied to such exceptional deliverances as that of Mr. Parkin.' He gave, said one of those who heard him, 'a hundred texts from which to preach a hundred federation sermons.' This triumph in Tasmania he was to repeat in Victoria, but in New South Wales he had a reception more hostile than any he had ever met before or was ever to meet again in any portion of the Empire.

In New South Wales there was a long and stubborn resistance to the movement for Australian federation. It was the stronghold of free trade, hostile to the protectionism of Victoria, and fearful that under a federal government the social and political ascendency of Melbourne would be enhanced and Sydney in population and importance fall

ever further behind the Victorian capital. It was the stronghold, too, of Irish disaffection in Australia and of an extreme labour radicalism which extended beyond the commercial centres to the great sheep and cattle stations. There also the movement for Australian independence was formidable, nursed as it was by restless Irish leaders and labour agitators, and finding a natural support in considerable elements of the population. Parkin foresaw an inhospitable reception in Sydney. Writing from Glenora to his wife he said : ' As I have told you before, I may and probably shall have discouragement in Australia as I had in New Zealand. I am far from expecting there the success I have had in Tasmania, yet I feel hopeful of doing something.' From Launceston he wrote : ' I will require every bit of spare time I can get to pull all my ideas together for the New South Wales contest. Still, I feel something of a racer's delight in looking forward to it, and only hope that my judgment may be kept clear. I judge that, making allowances for all one's shortcomings, I am getting a range of information which will make me, if things go on, one of the most effective instruments the League has to work with in carrying on its propaganda.' In his first letter from Sydney he said : ' It was certainly a tough corner the Melbourne folks put me into by sending me here. It will be all the better if one can make a point. But it is a good deal like finding one's own straw before making one's bricks.' In New South Wales, as in New Zealand, there was indifference, reluctance to call meetings, and even organized hostility. In the Press there were few friendly references, while the political leaders stood afar off, fearful of identification with him or the movement of which he was the protagonist. Sir Henry Parkes, one of the picturesque figures in

Australian history, bold, eloquent, courageous, impecunious and convivial, around whose name has gathered just such a sheaf of stories and legends as are associated with Abraham Lincoln in the United States and Sir John Macdonald in Canada, granted Parkin an interview, but it does not appear that he gave any open support to the project of federation. He was 'on the whole very kind,' Parkin says, 'a very striking man in personal appearance and intellectuality, but there is, I believe, another side to his life.' Of Lord Carrington, Governor of the State, Parkin writes: 'He is a new type, an English peer more in sympathy with New South Wales democracy than with great people in England, and on the whole rather against federation but not, I think, against what I understand by federation.'

On June 4th Parkin sailed into Sydney harbour and, like all visitors to Australia, was entranced by its beauty and magnificence. Two weeks, however, elapsed before he held his first meeting in Sydney, and there could be no better evidence of the unfriendly atmosphere in which he found himself. Nor did the meeting itself, which was held at the Protestant Hall on June 18th, serve to moderate the temperature.

He had not gone far before it was apparent that there was a formidable hostile element in the audience. When he declared that Imperial unity, or as he put it, national unity, was the greatest democratic movement of modern times, there were cries of protest; when he described the audience as British, the hostile element shouted that it was not British but Australian. An extract from the report of the *Sydney Morning Herald* reads: 'You say Canada for the Canadians and Australia for the Australians (great and continued applause). He scorned the words

and the thought (applause and groans). Was the first voice of the Colonies going to be the voice of selfishness ? (applause and interruption). Was it going to be the mistaken voice of limitation ? (applause and interruption). He as a Canadian was ashamed to hear an Australian say that the idea was to tie themselves within the limits of this country (applause and interruption). Twenty-two years ago Canada became a federated people, and from that day everything they had done had been backed up by the British Government both in general and in detail (applause). They could never kill the sentiment of the glorious heritage connected with the British Isles (great applause).' When he took his seat a resolution was immediately submitted by Mr. David Buchanan, a member of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, declaring ' that this meeting, while thanking Mr. Parkin for his address, is of opinion that the natural and suitable destiny of the Australian Colonies is to unite and form amongst themselves one free and independent nation.' The mover explained that he could not allow such an extraordinary speech as that of Parkin to pass without condemnation. The interests of England, he insisted, were the very opposite of the interests of Australia. England saw nothing but the great Imperial interest, but Nature had mapped out the future of Australia in the form of a great consolidated Empire independent of all other countries. The chairman refused to put the motion on the ground that the meeting was called to hear Parkin and for no other purpose. Amid great disorder a vote of thanks to the speaker was declared carried, although there were ' loud expressions of dissent.' Of this tumultuous meeting Parkin wrote to his wife : ' It was not a success nor yet a failure. For the first time I met an organized opposition.

Friends tell me it was a rowdyism which is the normal thing at meetings here, and that I controlled it wonderfully well. But you can form no conception of the tides of feeling which are at work here. While it was something to go through, I would yet never have understood New South Wales if I had not seen this. My view of it all changes so from hour to hour that I scarcely know how to write. Last evening I read two or three rather sneering articles in small opposition papers, and it made me feel badly. Then to-day comes an invitation from the Economic Association asking me to address it at their next meeting. This will include the best thinking men here. Again, to-night I have met what I thought was one of my bitterest opponents, and he tells me that I am entirely different from the cut-and-dried Imperial federationists they are accustomed to, and wants to arrange a meeting for me with one of the editors who reviled me yesterday. Then another man meets me on the street, and asks me if I am going to lecture again, adding that there are thousands who would like to hear what I have to say, and that the reason I had not a big audience last night was because people did not know I was different from other lecturers. So putting all these things together I have had many ups and downs. You know how susceptible I am to surrounding influences. I suppose it is part of the speaking temperament. I do pray to be guided to do and say what is right, but it seems to me that I am constantly on a balance, valleys of humiliation and heights of contentment, which I can only hope is not presumptuous.'

He also delivered addresses in Sydney before the Australian Economic Association and the Sydney University Union. These were free from disorder, but at both meetings opponents of federation challenged his

arguments and declared for full national independence as the natural destiny of Australia. The *Sydney Morning Herald* protested against the treatment to which he was subjected at the Protestant Hall, but there was in all newspaper references a manifest indisposition to subscribe to federation. 'What is needed,' the *Herald* declared, 'is clearer evidence of a sensitive regard in England for Colonial interests, more spontaneous indications of sympathy with Colonial feeling, and more of practical proof that the Imperial connection is a source of safety, not of danger, of gain and not of loss to the Colonies.' One who reads the *Sydney Morning Herald* to-day, now as then among the most powerful of Australian journals, will not as easily understand the fears, doubts and hesitations which these sentences suggest as one who thinks upon the exertions and sacrifices of Australia in the Great War will marvel at the triumphant march of Imperial sentiment in the parent State of the Commonwealth. It may be that even among those who scoffed at Parkin roots were watered from which grew living trees of Empire. 'He that received seed into the good ground is he that heareth the word, and understandeth it: which also beareth fruit, and bringeth forth, some an hundred fold, some sixty, some thirty.' To the day of his death Parkin recalled his experiences in Sydney, not so much with a sense of grievance as with an irritated feeling that if he could have got closer to the masses of the people he would have won sympathy and understanding even if he had not produced conviction.

In Melbourne he had a very different reception. The warmth and enthusiasm manifested at his meetings must have been cheering and consoling after the coldness and inhospitality of Sydney. He spoke before the Banking

Institute of Australia, to the students of Melbourne University, at a great meeting in the Town Hall and at private and public dinners arranged in his honour by the Victorian Branch of the Federation League. Of the meeting in the Town Hall it was said: 'At the close of the lecture there was quite a demonstration on the part of the audience, many besides the ordinary mode of applause rising in their seats cheering and waving handkerchiefs.' The *Melbourne Argus* in all its references to him was sympathetic, impressed by the magnetism and power of the speaker, and carried far by the logic of his argument. The *Daily Telegraph* said of the Town Hall meeting: 'One thing is quite certain—as thought breeds thought, such a discourse as that which fell upon the ears of thousands last night and which will be read by hundreds of thousands hereafter, will have no barren and unproductive mission. When that large meeting rose *en masse* with waving hats and ringing voices to testify the strength of the feeling which had been stirred there, it must have meant something; and it is not too much to say that the current of many men's thoughts may last night have received an initial impulse which will stop only in the Imperial achievement towards which Mr. Parkin's magnificent oration was directed.' The *Age*, single-minded, resolute, aggressive and unwavering in its long battle for a protectionist Australia, saw danger in federation and in Parkin an 'idealogist.' It said: 'All the gain would be to Great Britain and all the loss to the Colonies. The Colonies would simply become the markets for British manufacturers, while their own populations would be converted into producers. They would bind themselves to produce nothing which they could import from the Mother Country and to join the Mother Country in

excluding the foreigner from a share of their custom. Instead of making themselves centres of industry for the supply of their own wants and the employment of their own people, they would shut up their factories and revert to the idyllic period of their infancy, when the squatter was the lord of the soil and his sheep took the place of men and women.' It argued that all that was desirable in the project of the federationists could be better secured by an alliance between the British communities for offensive and defensive purposes. 'Mr. Parkin,' the *Age* said, 'may want more than this; but half is sometimes better than the whole, and if he will be content to work for this and give up the ideal union that holds his imagination captive he may yet be a benefactor to his generation.' There can, however, be no doubt that he made a singularly favourable impression upon Melbourne. His speeches held and thrilled great public meetings. He was submerged by the shower of social invitations. A community distinguished for scholarship, for social ease and elegance, with some distinction in letters, with skill in statecraft and no small power in trade and finance, took him to its bosom and made his visit a social and political triumph. One journal declared his speaking was as good as any ever heard in Australia. He was compared with Bright and Cobden. 'The *Age*,' he wrote, 'has modified its tone in face of the manifest popular enthusiasm which has been evoked.' The *Age*, however, has remained obdurate in its attitude towards all projects of organic union and inflexible in its determination to maintain adequate protectionist duties for Australia even against the goods of the Mother Country. Thus far its interpretation of Australian national feeling has prevailed against the vision of Parkin. But the nationalism of the

Commonwealth has not lessened its devotion to the Empire, while its sacrifices for the Empire have gone far beyond his dream of forty years ago. In the affairs of nations as in the affairs of men God moves in a mysterious way, and so often we travel with misgiving along roads which lead to the summit of the hill of our desire.

Later Parkin visited Adelaide ; Ballarat, where centres so much of the romance of the Southern Commonwealth ; Melbourne a second time, where on leaving he was presented at the railway station by a group of admirers with a gold chain and a purse of Victorian gold ; Brisbane, the radical capital of Queensland ; and Rockhampton, where a branch of the League was established. At Adelaide he had two successful meetings ; at Brisbane there were evidences of the temper of Sydney. Towards the middle of September he sailed for England and reached London late in October. In Australia he made many firm and lasting friendships. The chairman of his meeting at Adelaide was Sir Samuel Way, for forty years Chief Justice of South Australia. Like Parkin he was an ardent Imperialist, and the two men maintained an active and continuous correspondence until the death of the Chief Justice in 1916 at eighty years of age. He was only less deeply impressed by Dr. Garran, one of the great journalists of Australia, for a time editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald* and in his later years a member of the Legislative Council of New South Wales. Other men who became his friends and with whom he exchanged letters over a long period were Mr. G. D. Carter, President of the Victorian Branch of the Imperial Federation League, M.L.A. for Melbourne ; and Mr. H. D'Esterre Taylor, Secretary of the Victorian Branch, and one of the leaders in the movement for Australian federation.

There is no evidence in his private letters that he overestimated his achievement in Australia. He fully understood that outside of Melbourne and Adelaide and Tasmania there was no general acceptance of his message. Even in these communities there was a great body of opinion unmoved by his appeal. He had to face a voluble nationalism, racial, sectional and economic acerbities, a country divided over the issues of Australasian federation, and doubtful if the connection with the Empire was to endure. One does not know how deeply he moved the Australian people nor how lasting was the effect of his speeches. But who can doubt that he had some part in the efflorescence of Imperial sentiment in the Commonwealth and in the Dominion of New Zealand and in the passing of the narrow nationalism which he condemned with so much vehemence and eloquence? To Parkin Australia was something of a mystery and a problem. In a letter to his wife he said: 'There are the most curious and interesting differences between Australians and ourselves. I cannot discover much of what one may call moral earnestness. Sometimes I am half inclined to think there is a tendency here to step back into a cultured and luxurious paganism. Perhaps my life at the clubs has accentuated this impression, but others to whom I have spoken admit the prominence of what suggests it.' But he was to visit Australia again, and though one finds in his letters no later judgment upon its people, it is certain that he came to think of the Commonwealth as a seed-plot of Empire and as capable of exertions and sacrifices to maintain free institutions and beat back the forces of despotism such as would glorify even 'a cultured and luxurious paganism.'

CHAPTER V

BIRTH AND DEATH OF THE LEAGUE

In the common judgment the movement for an organic federation of the British Empire reposes among the ' lost causes ' which imaginative idealists have failed to impose upon practical statesmen. It is, however, necessary to remember that when the Imperial federationists first proclaimed their gospel, there was grave need to resist dangerous tendencies, alike in the Dominions and the Mother Country, towards disintegration of the fabric of Empire and neglect of the Imperial estate. There were few among the statesmen of the Old Country who understood the spirit of the Colonies or realized that there was potential strength and security for the United Kingdom in the Colonial connection. Even Disraeli with his long vision and prophetic insight hesitated and stumbled before he found ' the golden road to Samarkand.' He saw it at last, one thinks, through the Throne and through India. In a speech which he made in London in 1872 there is a clear call to the New World to lead the Old. He declared that it was through ' the sympathies of the Colonies with the Mother Country ' that the ' policy of disintegration of the Empire ' had failed. ' They have decided,' he said, ' that the Empire shall not be destroyed, and in my opinion no minister in this country will do his duty who neglects an opportunity of resuscitating as much as possible our Colonial Empire, and of responding to those

distant sympathies which may become the source of incalculable strength and happiness to this land.' To a far greater degree than is realized or admitted those 'distant sympathies' have nourished Imperial sentiment in Great Britain itself and strengthened immeasurably the foundations of the British Commonwealth.

The Imperial Federation League, through which Parkin was to do such valiant and laborious service for Empire and achieve such high distinction, was founded in July 1884, at a Conference in London. Among the delegates were many leaders in the political, commercial and social life of Great Britain. It was stated in the report of the Conference that the object was twofold. 'They desired to promote, as far as possible, the great end of Imperial federation,' and 'They were anxious to record an effective protest against a belief which appeared to be prevalent to some extent at home, and to a still greater extent in the Colonies, to the effect that there was a party, or important section of any party, in the United Kingdom which was careless of the Colonial connection, and which looked forward with pleasure to an early disintegration of the Empire.' The chairman of the Conference was the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, a minister under Gladstone, and among the delegates were Lord Rosebery, the Right Hon. W. H. Smith, James Bryce, Joseph Cowan, H. O. Arnold-Forster, and Albert Grey, later Governor-General of Canada. Among those from the Dominions were Sir F. Dillon Bell, Agent-General for New Zealand; Sir Charles Tupper, High Commissioner for Canada; Sir Saul Samuel, Agent-General for New South Wales; Oliver Mowat, Premier of Ontario; R. B. Dickey of the Canadian Senate, and

D'Alton McCarthy, K.C., of the Canadian House of Commons.

As was to have been expected, there was unanimity in the Conference in support of the object but wide differences of opinion over the practicability of federation. The first resolution, submitted by W. H. Smith, one of the leaders of the Conservative party, which declared that 'the political relations between Great Britain and her Colonies must inevitably lead to ultimate federation or disintegration,' and that therefore 'to secure the permanent unity of the Empire some form of federation is indispensable,' was not accepted. The Conference would not go farther than agree that 'in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire some form of federation is essential.' It may be that the difference between the two declarations is not great, but it was wise not to insist that federation was the only and absolute condition of unity and perpetuation of the Empire. Lord Rosebery was eloquent, but doubtful and hesitant. The way in the British constitution, he said, was to go gently and slowly, and it would be wise to follow tradition and practice. Sir Charles Tupper could not agree that Great Britain must choose between disintegration or federation. Indeed, the zeal of many of the delegates for organic federation of the Empire scarcely outlived the Conference. United in aspiration, they were divided in method and in policy. Many of those whose names appear on the roll of the Conference became positive, if not active, opponents of federation. Even Lord Rosebery, who succeeded Forster as President of the League and for whom Parkin cherished an enduring affection, marched only to the foothills. There was a gleam of the old spirit in his address in 1909 to the first Imperial Press

Conference, but he had long ago turned his back upon federation and become only a sonorous voice with a moving but indefinite message.

In Lord Rosebery we have the story of many of the pioneer federationists. But if they did not alter the form, they nourished and strengthened the spirit of Empire. Forster, while he lived, was faithful, and if he could know he probably would be content with the fulfilment of the prophecy which he uttered in 1875 at Edinburgh. 'I believe,' he said, 'that our union with our Colonies will not be severed; because I believe that we and they will more and more prize this union, and become convinced that it can only be preserved by looking to association upon equal terms; in other words, I believe that our Colonial Empire will last, because, no longer striving to rule our Colonies as dependencies, when they become strong enough to be independent we shall welcome them as our partners in a common and mighty Empire.'

By the British Press general sympathy was expressed for the object of the federationists. For the Conference of 1884 there was lack neither of space nor of comment. But while there was no want of goodwill there was generally hesitation and reserve as to the political practicability of federation. Then, as later, there was the call for a 'plan,' but no plan was forthcoming which could command a common assent. The Committee of the League which waited upon the Government of Lord Salisbury in June 1891, was challenged by him to submit a definite scheme of federation. Such a plan was accordingly prepared, and was duly presented to his successor, Mr. Gladstone, who, as might have been expected, was courteous but non-committal. By this time the dissension had begun, which in 1893 caused the dissolution of the League, and

little more was heard of the plan. In Australia, and in Canada particularly, for reasons which will be considered, the whole movement was regarded with doubt if not with positive apprehension. Men in office have seldom any mercy for new projects which threaten established conditions. They do not exist, as Sir Oliver Mowat said, for the purpose of 'resolving' so much as for postponing and evading difficulties. Moreover, there was in the Dominions forty years ago no such settled acceptance of the Imperial connection as now prevails. This Parkin as a Canadian fully understood and this he was made to realize in Australasia. It must be remembered that there was then an element of subordination in the relation of the Colonies to the Mother Country. Downing Street had not yet become a legend. The vision of Independence was in the minds, if not in the hearts, of many of the younger generation of Canadians and Australians. In Canada the long agitation for freer trade with the United States had stimulated the thought of a political union with the Republic. Indeed, two or three years after the birth of the movement for federation of the Empire, commercial union with the United States, which many sober-minded Canadians regarded as the inevitable precursor of political union, became the issue between the political parties of Canada. There were men of high social distinction and great political authority, most of whom died in the odour of Imperial sanctity, partly committed to union with the United States as the certain political destiny of Canada. There were those of like social and political distinction at Washington who understood and rejoiced. But they would not provide subsidies for Press or party in Canada, nor would they engage in any systematic corruption of Canadian opinion.

All the story has not been told, and perhaps it is better that there never should be a full disclosure. There are, however, a few shining names in Canadian history which bear a significance in strange contrast with what could be revealed. More fortunate than those who signed, in an impetuous moment, the Annexation Manifesto of 1849, they escaped by a judicious silence the long penance which would inevitably have followed any open confession of the course of destiny which they would have prescribed for the British North-American Provinces. And they kept silence because Canadian Imperialists evoked such a feeling for British connection that no man who desired political advancement in Canada could afford to resist its power and potency. How much there is of security in the reticences of history !

In Canada as in Great Britain, governing statesmen had no enthusiasm for federation. When the League was organized in London, Sir John Macdonald was Prime Minister and leader of the Conservative party. Edward Blake, acclaimed only a few years before as the prophet of federation, was leader of the Liberal Opposition in Parliament, but he had abandoned the ' Aurora platform ' as constitutionally impracticable and politically inconvenient. In his address at Aurora in 1874, so curiously inconsistent with his later career, Blake argued that ' an effort should be made to reorganize the Empire upon a federal basis.' We cannot be content, he said, with less than equal citizenship for ourselves and an equal partnership for our country in the Empire to which we belong. He described Canadians as ' four millions of Britons who are not free,' and predicted that the time would come when the Dominions would enjoy full freedom and a full share of ' national rights.' But Blake made only a day's journey

with the federationists, and after Aurora there is only discretion or silence. No one has ever doubted the devotion of Sir John Macdonald to the Empire, but he never was persuaded that federation was politically expedient or constitutionally practicable. There is evidence that he was disturbed over Sir Charles Tupper's somewhat indefinite connection with the League in Great Britain. He made occasion to protest against a speech which Tupper delivered on June 22nd, 1889, at the dinner of the Federation League in London. 'I do not think much will be accomplished by the League or public interest maintained.' The High Commissioner had said: 'Until something practical is proposed and advised, I think that the Imperial Government should invite a conference of the representatives of the autonomous Colonies to consider the best means of promoting the unity of the Empire, and when such a meeting should take place I think a feasible policy of mutual preferential trade might be adopted.' In these sentences there is no fervour for federation, but Sir John Macdonald was alarmed or at least willing to profess alarm in order to impress upon the bold and aggressive representative of Canada in London the necessity for extreme caution in any deliverance upon Imperial problems. He believed that any identification with the projects of the federationists would produce apprehension and unrest in Quebec, and he ever relied upon Quebec to maintain his political ascendency in Canada. In a letter to Tupper, written at Rivière du Loup on August 14th, 1889, he said: 'Your speech on federation has excited much attention in Canada, and a good deal of dissatisfaction in Quebec. The manner in which it has been treated by the English Press generally, which will insist that you have spoken the opinions of the

Canadian Government and as if by its authority, has aroused the suspicion of the French, and I look forward to some unpleasant discussions in our Parliament. The Opposition will oppose, of course, and they will attempt to make common cause with the French, and may carry a vote (1) against Imperial federation and (2) against a conference proposed by you. It would be well, I think, for you to let it be known as widely as possible that you spoke your own opinions and not in any way as High Commissioner.' Whether as a result of this letter or not, on August 27th Sir Charles Tupper spoke again at a meeting of the League and boldly declared his disbelief in any scheme of Parliamentary federation that could be devised, urging instead a conference of representatives of the Mother Country and the Dominions to consider a preferential Imperial tariff as the more practicable method of consolidating and strengthening the Empire.

There is no doubt that in so speaking Sir Charles Tupper struck a serious if not a mortal blow at the Imperial Federation League. As High Commissioner for Canada he spoke with authority, and probably it was well understood by British statesmen that he expressed the attitude of the Canadian Government and of the bulk of the Canadian people. A great constitutional project, officially repugnant to the Dominions, could not hope to make headway in Great Britain. His words point also to the schism in opinion which was eventually fatal. The founders of the League had stressed the spiritual and the strategic arguments, and had been very chary indeed about laying hands on what has been called 'the sacrosanct dogma of Free Trade.' Inter-Imperial trade relations they had placed among a number of matters 'conducive to the maintenance of national unity, but not

essential to it.' This was very strongly Parkin's view. Safe Trade, he said again and again, was far more important than either Free Trade or Fair Trade. For neither Free Trade nor Protection had he any reverence. They were matters of expediency. Aid by the Dominions to the British Navy, in order that the great sea-ways might be policed, and that the rich argosies of the Empire might go securely to and fro, appealed to him far more than any system of chaffering about preferences. Such preferences, he agreed, might be advantageous, but they failed to rouse his enthusiasm. Federation should not stake too much upon them. In a phrase which he often used, he ' dreaded putting all the Imperial eggs in one basket.'

Sir Charles Tupper, on the other hand, took the view that in assisting financially in the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and in improving her Atlantic and Pacific ports, Canada was doing in the defence of the Empire all that self-respect demanded. In Canada it was represented that the chief design of the League was to centralize the power of the Empire in London, and to secure heavy contributions from the Colonies for Imperial defence. Tupper, with the assurance for which he was distinguished, declared that ' the most active members of the Imperial Federation League were mainly interested in levying a large contribution on the revenues of the Colonies for the support of the army and navy of Great Britain.' It would be difficult to find support for this contention in the literature of the League, but as an appeal to certain elements in Canada the language was singularly effective. ' Unfortunately,' Sir Charles said, ' the British federationists had captured Mr. Parkin, and, having used him here, are now using him in Canada to create the false

impression that we do nothing to maintain the defence of the Empire, instead of showing you, as he truthfully could, that we have entitled ourselves to the gratitude of every man who has the interests of the Empire at heart.' The officials of the League energetically protested against Tupper's statement, and he accepted their assurances that he had misinterpreted its objects voluminously but not as unreservedly as they desired. The schism widened, and in November 1893 the Imperial Federation League was dissolved. Two years later the British Empire League was organized in London to advocate preferential tariff as a more practicable method of furthering the great end of Imperial unity to which the federationists had set themselves with so much zeal and with results far greater than have been recognized. Sir Charles Tupper was at the birth of the British Empire League as he had been at the birth of the League which he had helped to destroy. Parkin, who had strenuously opposed the abolition of the Federation League, gave to the new organization only partial adhesion and guarded support. He was, however, an enthusiastic member of the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee, which survived its parent, and he remained an ardent supporter of the Royal Colonial Institute, which had been founded in 1868 with the motto of 'United Empire,' and which is still influential under its newer name of Royal Empire Society.

CHAPTER VI

IMPERIAL FEDERATION AND TARIFF REFORM

From 1889 to 1895 Parkin lived in various parts of England, mainly at Dovercourt and Harwich, on the east coast. He delivered almost innumerable lectures and addresses upon Imperial Federation; wrote three books, and many articles for newspapers and magazines. He addressed not only public meetings in all the three kingdoms, and in the Principality of Wales, but also most of the Chambers of Commerce, and all the great public schools of England and Scotland. Where it was inexpedient to lecture, interviews in the chief local newspapers were given. He became, as Lord Rosebery called him, 'the bagman of Empire,' and few men can have filled more columns in the public Press of Great Britain than he did in those years. Often the audiences were not large, but they were never inattentive, and wherever he spoke new interest was excited in the problems of Empire and particularly in the high moral and material advantages of the connection between the Mother Country and the Dominions. Buckle of *The Times* once said that Parkin had 'shifted the mind of England.' There were few communities in Great Britain in which he did not establish close personal connections and make friendships which were seldom broken while he lived. These comprised men and women in every walk of life, with all of whom Parkin's sincerity and dramatic power of absorbing his

environment made him equally at ease. Not only in his addresses, but even more in his daily walk and conversation he was a sympathetic and sorely-needed interpreter of Canada to the Motherland.

'Only those who lived through that time can appraise his wonderful and self-sacrificing work,' writes a friend. 'I was thirty years of age in the 'eighties, and my father, who brought me up to be interested in the Colonies, was a follower of Gladstone and the Little Englanders who were content that the Colonies, in the jargon of those days, should "cut the painter," and who looked forward to their "dropping like ripe fruit from the tree." I lived near to him, and we used to ride together nearly every day on horseback before breakfast, and I well remember the strain on our relations arising out of the conflict of our opinions. It is one of my bitterest recollections.

'It was Parkin's speeches and writings at that time which were the foundation of my admiration for him, and I feel that I cannot rest until his services to Imperial unity and world peace are put on record.'

When the League was dissolved a vigorous attempt was made to continue its activities and spread its teaching by a group of volunteer speakers. Chiefly responsible for the formation of this group were Parkin; Harold F. Wyatt, its honorary secretary; and Sir Harry Wilson, afterwards private secretary to Joseph Chamberlain, and Colonial Secretary of the Orange River Colony. This group embraced about twenty young men, aflame with all Parkin's enthusiasm for the Empire, drawn mainly from Oxford and Cambridge. They became known as 'the Seeley lecturers,' from the name of the first President of the Cambridge Branch of the League, Sir John Seeley, Regius Professor of History at Cambridge, author of

The Expansion of England. Seeley is now remembered as an historian, but in his day he was at least equally well known as a forcible speaker and lecturer. Like Parkin, he was an eager pioneer in the movement for Imperial unity. The two men were long intimate, and gave each other mutual comfort and support.

An article by Wyatt on 'The Empire's Future' in the *English Review* for July 1924 has this reference to Parkin: 'The Imperial Federation League possessed one priceless asset in having as its chief orator the late Sir George Parkin. No one who had the privilege of hearing that almost inspired speaker in the days of his prime can ever forget the noble vision of a united Empire, carrying the ideals of our race into the depths of future time, which his words evoked and his magnetism rendered irresistible. In him an immense knowledge of economic facts and a sane judgment of world possibilities blended with the fire of a prophet and the sincerity of an apostle. Had a hundred such men toured the Empire as he toured it, and preached as he preached, the doctrine of federation, the political unity of our race, would have been long ago achieved.'

On April 24th, 1893, Lord Milner wrote to Parkin: 'I have been wanting for some time to write to you about our last conversation. I was immensely interested by your lecture. There are several things I should criticize, and when we have another chance of a quiet talk I will tell you what I mean in this respect. Also there are several questions I want to ask. Taken as a whole, I do not think there could be a more vigorous and telling exposition of a policy in which I thoroughly believe. I hold that the best thing the Federation could do would be to keep you afoot, lecturing either to large audiences or to bodies of men who

from their representative character were valuable. I think you should lecture widely but not too often, and that you should be liberally endowed for work which is at once so important to the cause and imposes such a tax on the time and strength of the man who does it. With some reasonable regard to the extent of my means I am quite willing to give practical evidence of the sincerity of these convictions. If there were twenty men in England prepared to put their hands in their pockets in order to endow you liberally as a professor of this subject, I should be willing to be one of the twenty. If there were only ten I should still make an effort to be one of the ten. For the moment I will ask you, at your leisure, to let me know what you have settled for this year with the Federation, also what other scheme of addresses—whether to public schools or elementary teachers—you have, and to what extent they are already financed. Perhaps if you could look in again for ten minutes' talk some day when you are next in town we might get further than by writing letters.'

Among Parkin's papers there is a memorandum dated June 1st, 1893, 'of a conversation between Mr. Brassey, Mr. Parkin, and Mr. Milner.' It is in Milner's handwriting and reads as follows: 'Certain persons being willing to subscribe a sum for the support of Mr. G. R. Parkin with the desire to enable him to devote the best part of his time and energies to the advocacy of the cause of Imperial Federation by speech and writing and in any other way which he may see to be best, Mr. Brassey and Mr. Milner, on behalf of the persons in question, promise to pay Mr. Parkin a sum of £450 a year, to be raised if possible to £500—but in any case £450 for a period of three years from 1st July, 1893. In accepting this sum Mr. Parkin by no means fetters his liberty of action or his

use of his time, and, subject to the general condition of using his best energies to promote the unity of the Empire, he is free to make any arrangements he pleases with the League or any other body, and to accept any sum that may be offered him for speeches or writing, or generally to earn any money he may over and above the sum thus guaranteed. Only it is understood that in case of his accepting any employment which would divert the bulk of his energies from the advocacy of the cause of Imperial unity the present arrangement shall be open to re-consideration.'

Parkin made a sincere effort to continue the advocacy of federation under this agreement, but the financial provision was inadequate, the drain upon his strength was intolerable, and the results disproportionate to the effort. He believed, although his faith was not justified by events, that the outlook for Imperial Federation was improved when Lord Rosebery became Prime Minister. But, as has been said, Rosebery had vision without equal power of action. In June 1894 he said in a letter to Parkin: 'I have always thought that a movement for greater unity of the Empire would begin more usefully outside than inside these islands, and that therefore it was extremely desirable that Canada and Australia should first unite in common action.' He could have said as truly that any such movement must begin outside the Liberal party. For the Liberal party Rosebery was not a natural leader. It is doubtful if he could have been happy with any party. He had neither the constructive genius nor the quiet courage of Forster. Many times in the history of the British Empire what Conservatives have gained by force and daring Liberals have saved by compromise, by conciliation, and even by retreat. Rosebery failed, as the

school to which he belonged so often failed, when he was required to construct and advance.

In the Preface which he wrote for a book by T. A. Brassey,[1] Parkin said: 'When the cares of the Premiership compelled Lord Rosebery in 1892 to resign the direction of the League, his place was filled by the late Right Hon. Edward Stanhope, under whose presidency the League was dissolved. With the policy of dissolution I never agreed. It gave offence to members of the League in Canada, was rejected by those of Australia, and only made way for organization on somewhat narrower lines in England. In my judgment the League might have continued to furnish a middle ground upon which men of all parties could study and discuss the problems of Empire without the acrimony which usually attends party debate.'

The Imperial Federation League in Canada did not long survive the dissolution of the League in Great Britain. But in Canada, as in Australia, there was reluctance to dissolve and resentment over the action of those in the Mother Country who had ordered the retreat. The Canadian League had been active and influential in its effects upon public opinion. If it failed to secure acceptance of the principle of federation it checked the movement for preferential trading relations with the United States, and to a degree which perhaps never has been fully understood created the public sentiment which in 1897 found expression in the lower scale of duties levied by the Fielding tariff upon British manufactures as against imports from protectionist countries. The Canadian Branch of the Imperial Federation League was organized

[1] Afterwards second Earl Brassey: long one of Parkin's most intimate friends and supporters.

at Montreal on May 9th, 1885, with D'Alton McCarthy as President and Colonel George T. Denison as Chairman of the Organizing Committee. Among the Vice-Presidents were Archbishop O'Brien of Nova Scotia, Sir Leonard Tilley of New Brunswick, Sir John Schultz of Manitoba, and Alexander McNeill, M.P., of Ontario. Parkin was appointed a member of the Executive Committee. McCarthy, for many years one of the leaders of the Conservative party, drifted towards independence; separated from Sir John Macdonald over questions affecting the status of the French language and the special educational privileges enjoyed by Roman Catholics under the British North America Act and under Acts of the federal Parliament prescribing the rights of minorities in Manitoba and the Western Territories; became the leader of a third party and was among the most aggressive and effective of the advocates of reduction of Canadian protectionist duties against British imports. There is some reason to think, although the evidence is not conclusive, that McCarthy, rather than any of his Liberal associates, induced Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1897 to establish the British preference as the happy solution of electoral promises to scale down protectionist duties which were found to be difficult of fulfilment. At least McCarthy and Sir Wilfrid came into such close political accord that only the sudden death of McCarthy prevented his entrance into the Laurier Cabinet as Minister of Justice.

Many other names deserve honourable mention in the story of the federation movement in Canada. If it failed it was not because of want of devotion in service or distinction in leadership. Many meetings to further the movement were held throughout the country, and many

speeches and pamphlets published and circulated. Branches of the League were formed in Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and British Columbia. But when the parent League in Great Britain was dissolved a mortal blow was struck at the Canadian branches.

One of the closest of his English friends and most active of his allies in the federation movement was Talbot Baines of the *Leeds Mercury*, who in a letter to Lady Parkin (December 3rd, 1923) gives interesting reminiscences :

'Very stupidly I am not able to fix the date of my first sight of Sir George Parkin beyond saying that I believe it was in the second half of 1889, shortly after I had become editor of the *Leeds Mercury*. He came to call upon me and my father, the late Mr. Frederick Baines, who was then principal editorial proprietor, in order to introduce to us the subject of Imperial Federation. This, I think, was not long after the completion of his first great missionary tour round the Empire.

Both of us were deeply impressed by the intense earnestness with which he spoke on that subject, and the result was that my father and I agreed, after talking the matter over, that we would publish articles on the question and do what we could in the *Leeds Mercury* to further Mr. George Parkin's campaign in England. Accordingly, I did my best with our friends in Leeds, who were numerous, to arrange for a meeting to be held at the Philosophical Hall, which was the meeting-place of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, a very convenient place for the holding of gatherings of the most intelligent and influential people in the town. The *Leeds Mercury*, I am glad to say, had long been known for its keen interest in the Imperial side of public questions, and we cheerfully used all the resources of journalism in furtherance of the cause which we had taken up under the persuasion of Mr. George Parkin, such, for example, as preliminary articles and paragraphs calling attention to meetings about to be held in Leeds or elsewhere in the West Riding for the exposition of the subject by Mr. George Parkin, and reports of his speeches by first-rate reporters.

I ought to say at this point that I had been greatly impressed by Parkin's persuasive power as shown at a meeting of a small club, the Curfew, of which I was a member, which met at one another's houses for the discussion of questions of common interest, and one

of those meetings, March 26th, 1890, has always been referred to in my own thought and in conversation with my family as the Curfew meeting at which Ransome was converted by Parkin.[1] Cyril Ransome, who was a great friend of mine, was a very able and learned professor of history at what was then the Yorkshire College, which developed later into the University of Leeds. The result of the meeting certainly was that Ransome, who had previously been doubtful as to the wisdom or prudence of the Imperial Federation movement, threw himself heartily into it, becoming a member of the Council of the Imperial Federation League in London. His influence was, I think, really valuable in drawing to the support of the cause the sympathies of influential persons in Leeds society.

By the means which I have indicated above, the gatherings which were brought together by the announcement of Parkin's forthcoming addresses were numerous, and I believe that his exposition of his subject was always sympathetically received. These meetings were held not only in Leeds but in various other towns of the West Riding, and notably at Dewsbury, where I believe he secured the friendship and support of several influential manufacturers. So considerable and extensive was their effect that I well remember Parkin telling me months later that the then editor of *The Times*, with whom he was in close touch, said to him, " You have shifted the mind of England."

One of the circumstances which may have helped towards this sympathetic recognition of the effect and range of Parkin's work in this country was a really large meeting held in the hall of the Leeds Mechanics' Institute, under the chairmanship of the late Lord Brassey, where possibly 2000 people may have been present. Parkin, of course, was the principal speaker after the chairman. To this West Riding meeting Yorkshiremen came over from many places and it was marked by very hearty feeling.

George Parkin, Cyril Ransome, and I were closely linked in opposition on the Council of the Imperial Federation League to the proposal that the League should be dissolved. The Council of the League had become strongly divided, chiefly, so far as I remember, on the question whether the League programme should continue to be based mainly on the idea of an Inter-Imperial understanding in regard to the arrangements to be made, navally and otherwise, for the defence of the Dominions against external attack, and as to the proportion of the cost of such arrangements which should be borne respectively by the Mother Country and the Dominions. It was, according to my recollection, on the absolute

[1] The Minutes state that Imperial Federation was the subject discussed and bear the signature ' George R. Parkin.'

necessity of such an understanding in the interests of Imperial security and of justice to the different members of the Empire that Parkin's propaganda had been principally based in Great Britain and in the Dominions. There was, however, a section of the Council who held that the basis of the movement should be made one of a fiscal preference as between the different members of the Empire. I was strongly opposed to this change, and so, I believe, were George Parkin and Cyril Ransome, but a section of the Council pressed the view that if this change of basis could not be made the League would have to be dissolved, and, indeed, that it had better be speedily dissolved. To me, with Parkin and Ransome, this seemed a very deplorable conclusion, and I think all three of us more than once addressed the Council against it, mainly on the ground that the dissolution of the League would mean a gratuitous loss of very valuable links of thought and feeling, drawing the Empire together, which had been the fruit of Parkin's missionary work. Very unfortunately, as I always held, a resolution in favour of dissolution was carried at a meeting of the Council with the aid of several Members of Parliament who happened to be engaged at the House of Commons on some quite different business but who were held, wrongly as I thought, by the chairman, to be entitled to have their votes counted in their absence.

Such was the end of the League as I knew it, and it made me very sad. Almost immediately, acting with Ransome and others of my League friends who had been convinced of the importance of the cause, there was formed a small body called the Leeds Imperial Federation League. A small body, no doubt, but one which kept the flag flying in support of the principles of the old League, viz., Federation primarily for defensive purposes, in support of which from time to time meetings were held in Leeds and resolutions passed. Of course we had the heartiest sympathy of Sir George Parkin with us in these local efforts, but I do not remember that I had the privilege of any further work with him in the great cause before he left England to take up the Headship of Upper Canada College. His departure, I may say, was a great grief to me, both personally and on public grounds.'

Parkin strongly resented certain criticisms of his motives and actions made in his native Province by the *St. John Telegraph*. This journal, in December 1892, vigorously combated his contention that the Dominions should contribute more freely towards the defence of the Empire. It described Parkin as ' the salaried agent of

the aristocratic federationists in England, who comes among us asking that we assume new burdens in addition to those now pressing upon us.' It thought there should be no concealment or evasion as to who were his employers, and suggested that he should state frankly ' by whom and at whose cost his federation mission was undertaken and supported.' In reply Parkin was as frank as even the hostile newspaper could have desired. He said : ' The expense of my first tour around the world was borne in Canada by the Canadian Branch of the Imperial Federation League—in Australia by the Victorian and Tasmanian Branches of the League. In England I have had temporary engagements with two bodies—the parent League and the United Kingdom Branch, both of which, I believe, recouped themselves in part by the subscriptions which they received from the individuals, the Chambers of Commerce, or other bodies which I addressed.' He pointed out that as membership in the League cost only a shilling and as there were thousands of members it was ridiculous to suggest that he was the servant of ' aristocratic federationists,' and he mentioned a young Scottish engineer who had placed £100 to his credit and another young Scotsman who had eagerly interested himself in raising money among the busy centres of industry along the Clyde to advance a cause which essentially concerned ' the British workman at home and abroad, the products of whose industry must be safeguarded on every mile of ocean.'

Parkin was far less deeply interested in the British Empire League than he had been in the movement for Imperial Federation. In his later speeches he tended to use the phrase ' National Unity ' rather than ' Imperial Federation,' and he evidently doubted at times whether

such national unity, always the first object of his teaching, would stand the strain of differences which he thought must arise between a Mother Country devoted to free trade and Dominions tenaciously protectionist over any attempt to establish a system of preferential tariffs. In New Zealand and Australia and in some of his first speeches in Canada he argued for fiscal preferences to encourage production within the Empire and stimulate interchange of manufactures and products among the British countries, but in his speeches in Great Britain he was careful not to prejudice the movement for federation by incautious attack upon the principle of free trade which was the very grain and fibre of British commercial policy. He was in general sympathy with Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's spectacular campaign for Tariff Reform, but doubted if the masses of the British people could be persuaded to levy taxes for foodstuffs in return for any trade concessions the Dominions could offer or even as a sentimental contribution to the ideal of a self-contained Empire. Influential as Parkin was with many men of position and distinction in Great Britain, he never was of the inner group which surrounded Mr. Chamberlain, although he was consulted both directly and indirectly by the Liberal-Unionist leader after he became Colonial Secretary and during his battle for Tariff Reform. A friend wrote to Parkin in 1902 asking if he would ' prepare a concise and careful brief for Mr. Chamberlain's edification ' and stating that he was no longer regarded ' as a second Denison and perhaps even more dangerously impulsive.' This suggests a curious misunderstanding of both Parkin and Denison. If both were frank in speech and courageous in action, of neither could it ever be said that he was ' impulsive ' in the adoption of opinions or

easily turned from any course upon which he had once entered. Chamberlain came to have confidence in both Parkin and Denison, but there was always a touch of reserve in Parkin's allegiance to Chamberlain, nor did he ever involve himself directly in the campaign for Tariff Reform. In 1902 Denison spoke at many meetings in the United Kingdom in advocacy of a preferential tariff for the Empire and particularly in favour of a levy by Great Britain of 4 per cent. upon all goods admitted from foreign countries in order to provide a fund for the common defence. In a letter to his wife (January 21st, 1902) Parkin said: 'Colonel Denison is full of a big campaign in England next summer, for which he has offered his services. Preferential trade would be the keynote. He is anxious for me to join him, but I must walk warily about this.' In another letter (March 24th, 1902) he quotes a letter from a common friend in England in which it was hinted that Chamberlain did not think well of Denison's contemplated campaign and re-states his own determination to keep out of it.

Writing to Denison after Chamberlain had committed himself unequivocally to Tariff Reform, Parkin said:

'As you know, my judgment has not gone altogether with putting preferential trade in the very forefront of the fight or too exclusively. I am sorry for this and often wish I were as thoroughly convinced as you are. Nor has Mr. Chamberlain's method of floating the question quite carried me away. I hate to be lukewarm about anything—it is not in the line of my instincts—and I love to work as hard as I can on the general lines which we all have in view. But at present I cannot go much further than Mr. Balfour does. I have little doubt that what happens almost always in great changes—that the moderate men are swept away and left more or less stranded with their half and half ideas—will happen now. If so, one can only submit as best he can. I have always felt and said that I was almost an impossible party man, simply because I find it difficult to work with all my heart where my judgment is not

fully satisfied. But things are in a state of rapid flux, and one does not know how soon the air will clear. I shall be watching things with great interest during the next few months in England. So far as our British Empire League work is concerned, the break-up brought by the discussion now going on has odd features. The Duke of Devonshire taking the head of the Free Food League together with the Presidency of the British Empire League—you in Canada straight and strong against this—the President and Vice-President at Sydney, Bruce Smith and Reid, running a desperate Free Trade campaign against Deakin—altogether when the fight is over we shall have to pull ourselves together and find out where we are. But things like that are inevitable in such a struggle, and it is well that every side of truth should be represented. I do not attach an immense deal of importance to what goes on in this regard in Australia just now. They are in a bad way politically—federation has not been a success so far and they can only make it so through a good deal of tribulation. On the whole I am inclined to think Deakin will win—will after that soon be defeated by the help of the Labour party, and then a really federal combination will be forced upon them. This is pretty much Deakin's own forecast. But his success at present will be favourable to preferential trade.'

In August 1904 he wrote again to Denison : ' There is a lull in fiscal things. The crash in the East—the smash in the Scotch Church (a really serious thing for Scotland), mere weariness after a nine months' session of Parliament, all these have helped to drive even Chamberlain for the moment into the background. What he really wants just now is a dozen good men doing " spade work "—enthusiasts—who believe in what they are talking about. The work is too much for any single man, and in some way he has rather failed in heating up the individual supporter to the boiling point. But his dinner from 200 parliamentary supporters was a wonderful personal tribute.'

Parkin gave to no other cause such complete devotion as he gave to federation. If it be true, as is now so commonly held, that a federal organization of the Empire

under a common Parliament is impracticable, it is just as true that in his attitude towards all other political movements and policies he was prudent, moderate and practical. He was neither a devotee of free trade in Great Britain nor a rigid protectionist in Canada. He did not believe in centralization of power at Westminster nor could he ever admit the equity of a relation between Great Britain and the Dominions, which relieved the overseas British countries of direct and defined responsibility for the defence of the Empire. He thought of an Empire co-operating for the common advantage but never of an Empire organized for commercial attack upon other nations. Even in 1915, when the war was going badly, he doubted the wisdom of an incipient movement to commit Great Britain against commercial dealing with Germany when peace should be restored. In this connection he received a letter from Lord Milner which states with remarkable clearness the view of the school of Imperialists to which both belonged. 'I entirely agree with you,' Milner said, 'about the anti-German trade essays. I shall not, if asked, consent to judge the papers. I have not the time anyway, but in addition to this I have your objection to the policy, and moreover I feel another objection. I think we are getting hold of the wrong end of the stick. It is not war upon German trade but the development of our own resources, national and Imperial, which is the thing to go for. This way involves protection against Germany. But it is not anti-German legislation *per se* which is either desirable or admirable. The point of view is wrong. There is no necessary or inevitable conflict between husbanding your own resources and keeping on good terms with other nations. I do not want to injure German, or any, trade for the sake of injuring it.

I do want to foster and encourage British trade, trade within the Empire, trade with our allies. But it is the positive, not the negative, which is the side to emphasize. If we had not neglected our own opportunities we should not have opened the door to a German trade invasion as we have done. Why are we crowded with German clerks? Because our own commercial education is so miserable. Train your own people to do the work; then you will not need to set up barriers against the foreigner.'

CHAPTER VII

BOOKS OF EMPIRE

PARKIN wrote fewer books than he might have written and fewer indeed than he thought of writing. Some proposals he rejected because the payment offered was inadequate and some because the relentless pressure of other work made acceptance impossible. For two or three books that he planned to write a publisher could not be found. An offer from the Cambridge University Press, through Mr. G. W. Prothero, to write a History of the Canadian Colonies from 1750 was not accepted. Nor could he find time to write of Canada for the *Story of the Nations* series. He once thought of a volume of selections from the poets for use in the schools of Canada, but he got no farther with this project than to have a few of his favourite poems typewritten. In a letter to his wife (July 12th, 1910), he said: 'I finished *Anne of Green Gables* last night, a charming story that brought back many of the sensations of youth. It is a genuine Canadian story. I sometimes think I must write one myself.' Many of those who knew Lord Grey when he was Governor-General of the Dominion will recall his enthusiasm for this engaging romance and his visit to the author in Prince Edward Island. Grey and Parkin were alike in their eager interest in all that was distinctive in Canadian literature, and many a young writer was stimulated and encouraged by praise, always glowing and ardent, if not always discriminating.

For years Parkin had in mind the preparation of a map of the British Empire designed to show the geographical position of the various British countries and their relation to one another for purposes of commerce and defence. He did not find it easy to interest publishers in the proposal, but he persisted and at last secured the co-operation of J. G. Bartholomew, F.R.G.S., among the most famous of British map-makers. Together they produced ' The British Empire Map of the World,' the sale of which more than justified Parkin's confidence in the undertaking. It was published both as a wall-map and in various smaller sizes; was used in *Round the Empire* and was widely circulated by the Imperial Federation League.

Besides the innumerable addresses which he delivered on questions of Empire and his continuous contributions over many years to newspapers and periodicals, he published two volumes which contain the essence of his faith and show his wide and accurate knowledge of the geography, resources and problems of the British nations. In all his writing there is the thought of a commonwealth, animated by a common spirit, and devoted to common objects. His mind abridged distances and saw beyond seas and mountains all that could strengthen the common fabric and nothing that would disrupt or divide. He believed, as all his writing illustrates, that in organized co-operation of the British nations there were commercial advantages, guarantees of peace and security, and assurances of stable government which they could not enjoy as separate communities, or obtain through political or commercial alliances with other peoples. With this in mind one sees the significance of the title under which his first book was published. In his letters there is evidence

that the title, *Imperial Federation, or The Problem of National Unity*, was chosen after long and anxious deliberation, and that a dominant Britain with subordinate Colonies was remote from his conception of Empire.

This book, published by the Macmillans in 1892, seems to have been suggested by a group of his associates in the Federation League who offered to guarantee the cost of publication or at least to provide a fund upon which he could draw while the work was in preparation. In those days when he was unable to employ a stenographer his manuscripts were often typed by his wife. This drudgery she did not escape while he was writing *Imperial Federation*, and the fact suggests that no considerable sustaining fund was provided. Lord Brassey, however, with characteristic sympathy and devotion to the movement for Imperial unity, did make a substantial contribution; and apparently Lord Rosebery; Mr. Joe Haley, a wealthy woollen manufacturer of Yorkshire; Mr. C. O. Davies of Southport, a successful sugar planter whose chief interests were in Hawaii; Mr. Robert Duncan, a Scottish member of the Imperial Parliament; and Mr. Septimus Vaughan Morgan, a wealthy London proprietor of trade journals, all advocates of federation and devoted friends of Parkin, co-operated with Brassey in the publication of the volume. Although the book was warmly praised and freely reviewed, there was no satisfactory return either to the author or the publishers. This, however, was not an experience singular to Parkin nor a result for which the Macmillans were unprepared. Few such books find a wide market either in Great Britain or in the United States with more than double the population of the British Islands.

In the Preface to *Imperial Federation*, Parkin said that

the book was written at the request of many friends who thought a useful purpose would be served by putting the facts and arguments which it embodied into a connected form, where they would be easily accessible to the ordinary reader and where either their fallacies might be exposed or their truth find a wider recognition. 'In most of the chief centres of the British world both at home and abroad,' he said, 'I have found men of all classes, and not seldom large masses of men, who agreed on the whole with the line of thought which I here try to follow; agreed, too, with an intensity of belief and a warmth of enthusiasm which are, I think, rarely found except in connection with great and true causes. This concurrence of other minds has deepened the profound conviction which I have long felt that the completion of a closer and permanent political unity between the British communities scattered throughout the world should be the first aim of national statesmanship, and might become, if its advantages were clearly understood, a supreme object of popular desire.'

He admitted that the great end could only be gained after a severe struggle between contending forms of thought. 'The provincialism which has uniformly resisted large national organization; the pessimism which sees danger in every new form of political evolution; the repugnance to change in an old country with forms of government more or less fixed; the crudeness of national thought and want of national perspective in young communities; the ignorance which begets inertia:—all these exist and must be combated.' In the struggle the better cause, the strongest arguments, the deepest convictions would prevail. Mere circumstances would never shape themselves for the required solution. Growth was

an unconscious process, organization could only be the result of a conscious effort. The further consolidation of the Empire depended in great measure upon clearer examination of conditions in the various Dominions, of the prospects of increasing trade between the overseas British countries and the United Kingdom, of the opportunities for mutual interchange of products and manufactures, of the reliance of the Dominions for defence upon Imperial armaments, of the movements for union in South Africa and Australia and the happy accommodation of conflicting local and sectional interests under the federal system, of the consequences to Great Britain from secession of the Dominions and the lesser status and the greater insecurity of the Dominions as separated communities, of the dignity of an Imperial citizenship and the fateful results to mankind of a disintegration of the Empire.

He refused to admit that federationists were under obligation to submit a definite plan, complete in detail, of an Imperial constitution. One might, he said, ' with some confidence appeal to history in support of the position that no great work of national consolidation has ever been carried out which started from a defined initial plan.' This was true, he pointed out, of the movements for federation in Canada and in Australia. For years there was debate, agitation, organization, effort and desire. But federation could not be achieved until the public sentiment was created which demanded definite and final action. In his own words, ' The plan has been the crown of effort, not its starting point.' Legislators do not and cannot with wisdom go far in advance of public opinion. Alike if they fail to give effect to public opinion, or if they attempt to make decisions for an unready and

unwilling people, they are shorn of office. All depended, therefore, upon the answer which would be given to two questions: 'Is it for the advantage of the different communities that they should remain together? And, granting an affirmative answer to this, does the problem of further unification on a mutually satisfactory basis present difficulties which transcend the resources of British statesmanship?' Federationists believed that the formation of detailed plans should be left for statesmen who had received a mandate from the people and who would be responsible to the people for the results of their decisions.

It is not necessary to re-state the general argument for federation:

'There are clearly,' he said, 'two ways in which national unity might be attained. One would be by a great act of constructive statesmanship, such as that which gave a constitution to the United States, that which confederated Canada, that which is doing the same for Australia, that which in other states has changed an old system for a new. Such an effort is what people have undertaken when they saw before them a great national problem, knew distinctly what they wished to accomplish, and were ready to run the risks always involved in radical change for the sake of the end to be obtained by new organization. To make such an effort requires statesmen with courage to lead, and with judgment to plan so as to command public approval; courage and judgment such as those which have unified Germany and Italy, or those which federated the United States and Canada. On a smaller scale we have in the history of the United Kingdom examples of this bold and definite statesmanship, as opposed to slow constitutional growth and change, in the Acts of Union with Ireland and Scotland, or in the Reform Bills of half a century ago which gave to the vast but newly-formed industrial centres their true weight in the government of the country. To make decisive constitutional changes to meet distinct national necessities is strictly in keeping with our political traditions. An attempt to federate the Empire by a great act of political reconstruction would therefore differ from other events in our history not so much in kind as in degree. If the task to be undertaken seems great, we must remember that it would be

faced in order to deal with facts of national growth and change without precedent in human history.'

He continued: 'It can scarcely be denied that at any time circumstances may arise which would almost compel such an act of reconstruction. The demand of a single great colony to know the terms on which it might remain within the Empire as an alternative to independence would make the question practical at once. A great struggle for national safety or national existence would probably have the same effect. That the public mind should be prepared to deal intelligently with such a question is the strongest reason for the careful education of popular opinion on all matters relating to our national position. There is, however, another very different method by which the object in view may be attained or at least approached with the prospect of final attainment. Instead of radical change and reconstruction we may look to a policy of gradual but steady adaptation of existing national machinery in the new work which must be done. This method commends itself more especially to thinkers in the Motherland, who are accustomed to consider that the supreme merit of the British constitution consists in the fact that it is not a written rule—not a system struck off at white heat by the efforts of legislators, but is, in the main, the result of a progressive historical development. To them further progress would seem safer if pursued on similar lines. The policy seems of less consequence to colonists, living as they do in countries going through rapid changes, and lending themselves more readily to new organization.'

He added: 'The ideal of Federation which naturally presents itself to the mind is one which provides a supreme Parliament or Council, national not merely in name but in reality, because containing in just proportion representatives of all the self-governing communities of the Empire. Such a body, relegating the management of local affairs to local Governments, and devoting its attention to a clearly defined range of purely Imperial concerns, would seem to satisfy a great national necessity. It would secure representation for all the great interests of the Empire, it would bring together those best fitted to give advice on Imperial matters, and it would be free from that overwhelming responsibility for petty administration which now paralyzes, and at times renders ridiculous, the supreme council of the greatest nation in the world. This, it seems to me, is the ideal which must be kept in view as the ultimate goal of our national aspiration and effort. It is a reasonable ideal, one which, as we have seen, long since commended itself to the philosophic mind of Adam Smith, and which has to-day, under the changed conditions of intercourse, infinitely more to justify it, and infinitely

less to hinder its attainment than in his time. Even Burke, to whom it also occurred as a reasonable political conception, would have hesitated to employ the phrase, *opposuit natura*, with which he dismissed it, could he have grasped the possibility of what steam and the telegraph have done during the last half-century. The realization of some such ideal as this—a common representative body, Parliament or Council, directing the common policy of the Empire, while absolute independence of local government is secured for the various members—may fairly be looked upon as the only ultimate alternative to national disintegration, the only thing which can fully satisfy our Anglo-Saxon instincts of self-government and give finality to our political system.'

In the meantime Parkin favoured periodical conferences of representatives of the Parliaments of the Empire to consider questions of common concern; examined with sympathy the proposal of Sir Frederick Pollock to expand the Privy Council into a Colonial and Imperial Committee upon which the various parts of the Empire might be represented without the disturbance of any existing institution and whose functions might safely be left, to a large extent, to be moulded and defined by experience; the suggestion of Sir Charles Tupper that the Dominions should be represented in London by members of their Cabinets, who should be *ex-officio* members of the Privy Council though not members of the Imperial Cabinet, and should be consulted on all questions of foreign policy and all questions affecting the interests of the Dominions; and Lord Thring's proposal that the Agents-General and High Commissioners of the oversea British states should be not only members of the Privy Council but should have powers akin to those exercised by the minister of a foreign state and the right of constitutional access to the Imperial Government. These various proposals suggested to Parkin that discussion of the Imperial problem was not so much concerned with the principle of unity as with ways and means to arrive at the most satisfactory constitutional

nexus between the Motherland and her offshoots. To discuss the precise point of connection, however, was not the vital step towards effective unity. He urged as practical measures towards the political unification of the Empire cheaper postal and telegraphic communication, co-operation for naval defence, appointment of representative judges from the Dominions to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, careful practical study by Chambers of Commerce of commercial relations between Great Britain and the Colonies and co-operative effort to develop and extend trade within the Empire, and representation in the Dominions of the great British journals by correspondents as able and as well paid as those employed in the capitals of Europe. Not all of these steps towards unification have been taken, but the British nations, despite vexatious *détours* and blind turnings through timid and sometimes unfaithful leadership, have been moving towards the hill-top to which he pointed with such faith and confidence.

In *Imperial Federation* the arguments were so skilfully assembled and the central position of the federationists so strongly supported that many people alike in the Mother Country and the Dominions believed only a few years could pass before the organic union of the British nations must be achieved. But the practical politicians stood aside, and the idealists grew weary and faint-hearted. Indeed the tide was running against the federationists when the book appeared, and at best Parkin could only give a spasm of new life to a dying body. Thus far, indeed, federation with a plan and federation without a plan are counted among 'lost causes.' Shortly before the Great War the Round Table groups set out to complete the work which Forster, Rosebery, Milner, Parkin

and Denison had begun. Inspired by Lord Milner, a parent group of federationists was organized in Great Britain to study the problems of Empire and lay down the framework of an organic union. Its more active leaders had been with Milner in South Africa and had been more influential than is commonly understood in the movement to unite the South African States under a federal Government. They believed that if it was possible to devise a common system of government for communities so separated by racial and sectional enmities and prejudices, by tradition, temper and outlook, and only yesterday slaughtering one another in battle, it should not be beyond the resources of statesmanship to erect the British Empire into a federal Commonwealth. The eager leaders of the Round Table movement organized related groups in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and India for study of Imperial problems and interchange of facts and opinions. It was hoped that a plan could be found behind which all the groups could unite and which could command a solid body of support in all portions of the Empire. Finally, Mr. Lionel Curtis, the chief organizer and protagonist of the movement, published *The Project of a Commonwealth*, rigid, definite, arbitrary and positive in letter and spirit, and a second movement for federation of the Empire put up the shutters. The groups, not perhaps as originally constituted, still study questions of Empire; and the *Round Table*, established to be the organ of federation, still speaks with singular accuracy and authority upon the affairs of the Mother Country and the Dominions, but it is frankly apostate from the purpose for which it was created and has never supported the fiscal policy of Milner and Chamberlain and the advocates in the Dominions of mutual preferences in manufactures and

food products. But who shall say that there will be no revival of the movement for federation of the Empire or that its advocates may not achieve an ultimate triumph? If a time ever came when the choice were between federation or separation, one believes that the Imperial sentiment which has been fed and nourished through generations would demand a federal solution of the supreme problem.

There is the prospect, too, that the perfected air services of the future will carry a Canadian, an Australian, or a South African to London in less time than it now takes to carry a member of the Canadian Parliament from British Columbia to Ottawa. Day by day the incredible happens, the nation becomes a parish and the world less than a continent. At the moment there is no movement towards federation either in the Mother Country or in the Dominions, but over and over again in British history the voice speaking in the wilderness in one generation is heard of all men in a succeeding generation and the stone rejected becomes the head of the corner. The federationists of forty years ago may have lost a battle but they set in action forces which may yet be mobilized for a mighty advance towards a federated Empire. Moreover, the troops which fight in that campaign will find no better weapons than those forged by Parkin and the pioneer federationists.

Of all Parkin's books the most successful or at least the most profitable was *Round the Empire*, published in 1892 with an eloquent introduction by Lord Rosebery. Described in the later editions as 'a Survey of the British Commonwealth for Boys and Girls,' it is, in three hundred pages, an epitome of all his knowledge of the Mother Country, the Dominions, and the Dependencies of the

Empire. The book has been used in elementary and secondary schools and even in universities in every country where the English language is commonly spoken. Over 200,000 copies have been sold and it is still in demand. There is no other book which gives in so few pages such a lucid, comprehensive, and accurate account of the British possessions, of the variety and extent of their resources, of their means and systems of communication, their institutions and forms of government, the processes by which they became British, their economic relation to one another and the weight of the burden carried by the Mother Country for the common defence. Parkin had no natural genius for condensation, but one can recall no other book of its type which is a greater marvel of condensation than *Round the Empire*.

As deeply interested in this book as in its predecessor were Arnold-Forster and other leaders among the federationists. Arnold-Forster foresaw the success of *Round the Empire* and was ' very much pleased with it altogether.' He encouraged the author to undertake another volume of like character for the schools of Canada and Australia. But other duties intervened, and although the idea recurred to the author again and again the thing was left undone. These two books grew directly out of his connection with the movement for federation, although, as Rosebery said, *Round the Empire* was not an argument for any definite project of Imperial co-operation. In a fragment found among Parkin's papers there is this final statement of the objects and achievements of the federationists. He wrote : ' It has of late years become a commonplace among ill-informed writers and speakers to refer to the work of the Imperial Federation League as a movement that failed to achieve its ends. This error

springs from ignorance of the aims which actuated the founders of the League and those like myself who carried on its propaganda. It is assumed that our ultimate object was to establish a central parliament of the Empire in substitution for and over-riding the various representative bodies already in existence. Nothing could be further from the truth. We understood much too well the political genius of our race and the lines along which our institutions have developed to commit our advocacy to any cut-and-dried plan.' In support of this statement he quotes the sentences from Rosebery's introduction to *Round the Empire* in which, writing as Chairman of the League, he declares that the book puts forward no plan, theory or constitution. This, however, could not be said with equal truth of *Imperial Federation* nor of many of the speeches which Parkin delivered in his earlier days as the advocate of the movement. This, however, has been said elsewhere, and the great fact which stands out beyond denial or dispute is that the federationists achieved in the spirit what for the time they failed to achieve in the letter.

CHAPTER VIII

JOURNALISM

It is remarkable that in a life so crowded with other tasks and duties Parkin should have found time to do so much writing. Never a year passed that he did not write hundreds, if not thousands, of letters with his own hand; he produced three or four books of permanent value, and he was a prolific contributor to newspapers, periodicals and magazines. Again and again he thought of journalism as a career, but no permanent position ever offered which sufficiently attracted him.

In Fredericton he eked out the scanty pay of a schoolmaster by constant contributions to a local newspaper, written usually late at night, when the rest of the household were long abed.

While he was in Australia he met Gilbert Parker, a young Canadian, a graduate of Trinity College, Toronto, who had gone to Sydney, joined the staff of the *Morning Herald*, and won quick recognition as a writer of picturesque quality and unusual receptivity. He had not yet produced any of the full-length novels now so widely read in all English-speaking countries. *Valmond* and *The Seats of the Mighty*, so richly flavoured with the romance of the ancient regime in Quebec, were in the womb of the future. He had as yet done nothing of peculiar interest to Australia, he was unknown or forgotten in Canada, and his fame was hardly a whisper in England. Out of this meeting in

Sydney grew a lifelong friendship between Parkin and Parker, maintained through years of close association in England, and strengthened by a common interest in Canada and mutual devotion to the Empire.

In letters from Sydney and Melbourne, Parkin told his wife that he and Parker had under earnest consideration the practicability of establishing or organizing a periodical in Canada in which they would have a mutual interest. Parker he described as ' very practical and confident of pecuniary success.' They had pledged themselves, Parkin wrote, to ' work together with tongue and pen for Canada.' They would bring, he thought, to the enterprise they contemplated ' a range of knowledge and experience very unusual in Canada.' He added, ' Parker is sincere. You will think him cold, but behind that is a strange fire of enthusiasm and earnestness.' They would prefer, he said, to acquire *The Week*, which was at the time being published in Toronto, ' by means of a company,' or launch a new journal of like character. *The Week* was founded by C. Blackett Robinson, whose name has an honourable association with various Canadian periodicals. Its first editor was Charles G. D. Roberts, formerly Parkin's pupil in the Collegiate School, and its most distinguished contributor was Goldwin Smith. Indeed, there is reason to think that Goldwin Smith also gave financial assistance in launching and sustaining the publication. *The Week* died long ago from lack of support, which has been the fortune of so many such ventures in Canada, but while it lived it had distinction. One can find no evidence that the project of a journalistic partnership between Parkin and Parker was ever revived after the meeting in Sydney. Both found other work to do, and more solid ground on which to

stand than they would have had in the sinking sands of periodical journalism in Canada.

A letter from D'Alton McCarthy suggests that Parkin's name was also under consideration as editor or editorial writer for an important Canadian daily newspaper. The name of the journal, however, is not disclosed, but it is significant that at this time McCarthy was deeply interested in the Toronto *Empire*, which was established in 1888 as the chief organ of the Conservative party after the *Mail* had turned towards independence as a result of the agitation in Quebec for revenge upon Sir John Macdonald because Louis Riel, the leader of two half-breed revolts in the North-West, had been hanged at Regina. But McCarthy's letter is vague and indefinite and there is nothing in Parkin's correspondence to show that the suggestion was entertained or even understood. Parkin would have been unhappy as the editor of a party journal, and that with all its excellence the *Empire* was, and one doubts if Sir John Macdonald would have sanctioned the selection as editor of the *Empire* of a man of such independent temper and political detachment. It is not suggested that a party journalist may not have as deep conviction and as rigid integrity as had Parkin, but only that while he could be an advocate of causes he would have shrunk instinctively from being the mouthpiece of a party.

His work in England with the Imperial Federation League brought him much reputation but no assured income, and he was compelled to eke out the latter by much journalism. He wrote regularly for *Britannia*, a periodical edited by Robert Duncan, M.P., which described itself as 'an illustrated Imperial journal,' and which did valuable service in the discussion of problems

of Empire, as related to trade and defence, and as affected by ever-changing conditions in the Dominions. He was also a contributor to the *Century Magazine* of New York, his earliest contribution being apparently a study of the career and character of Thring, which made a deep impression upon American educationists. For a time he acted as special correspondent to several Australian journals. For the publications of the Church of England he wrote much, and nowhere else were his liberal spirit and spacious outlook more clearly revealed.

In July 1895, when offered the Principalship of Upper Canada College, he consulted Moberly Bell, the manager, and George F. Buckle, the editor of *The Times*, before he reached a decision. In a letter to his wife he said: 'I told them about the offer from Canada and asked them what chance I would have on *The Times* if I decided to remain in England.' It is clear that if he could at this time have secured a permanent position on the staff of *The Times* the offer of the Principalship might have been rejected. There is reason also to believe that both Buckle and Moberly Bell were anxious to make a place for him, but at the moment there was no position available such as he desired. He was assured that he would get such occasional work as offered and that there was a fair prospect of a permanent appointment. A proposal seems to have been made that he should go as special correspondent to South Africa, then much in the public eye. Much, however, as he desired to remain in England and anxious as he was to join the staff of *The Times*, he felt that the outlook was too uncertain and that in all the circumstances it would be unwise to decline the offer from Canada.

With *The Times* he had already established a connection.

He attracted its notice while he was engaged in the movement for federation. Many of his speeches were reported in its columns and it printed many letters over his signature. In the autumn of 1892 he was chosen by *The Times* to write a series of letters on the resources and problems of Canada. In the discharge of this commission he crossed the Western Provinces, visited Quebec and Ontario and examined conditions in the Atlantic Provinces, upon which he could speak with exceptional authority. For the first time a reliable inventory of the resources of the Dominion and a comprehensive survey of the problems and prospects of the country was presented through the columns of a great British journal. Of older Canada there was a degree of knowledge in Great Britain, but as to the West there was still profound scepticism and a common apprehension that the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway would bring only ruin to credulous investors and drive the Dominion to the verge of bankruptcy. No man ever was less the creature of a corporation than Parkin, but from the first he saw the Canadian Pacific Railway as a great national and Imperial enterprise, and there is no doubt that these letters to *The Times* did much to establish its credit on the London money market, to increase the confidence of British investors in the resources of the Dominion, and to stimulate the movement of British people towards the Western Prairies. It may be said with confidence that no other series of letters of equal interest to the Mother Country and of as great value to Canada has ever appeared in any British publication. They were thus valuable because of their authority, their fidelity to facts, and their range of information. When in 1893 the letters were published by the Macmillans in a volume of nearly three

hundred pages under the title *The Great Dominion*, he said in the preface: 'It has been a satisfaction to find that throughout Canada they have, in their original form, been very generally accepted as fair statements of the questions with which they deal. As I have never hesitated to point out the drawbacks and limitations of the country as well as its advantages, this approval seems to indicate that Canadians have reached a point where they are quite willing that the merits and defects of their country should be weighed together. The fact marks an important stage in the growth of a self-reliant feeling in a young community.'

The letters, although primarily concerned with the resources and institutions of the Dominion, did not ignore its political problems nor the influences which were shaping its destiny and forming the character of its people. Those were the days when the commercial movement towards Washington was urged forward by the leaders of one of the Canadian political parties and when there was a stronger undercurrent of agitation for political union with the United States than was commonly suspected. Parkin, however, argued that in Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific there was no political passion so strong as 'opposition to absorption in the United States,' and he contended that 'no avowed annexationist could be elected to the Dominion Parliament.' He declared his belief that the Liberal party had exaggerated the importance of the United States market and had shown a readiness to make excessive sacrifices to obtain it, while a section of the Conservative party had 'staked too much upon the hope of preferential trade with Great Britain instead of depending upon the innate advantages and opportunities of Canada itself.' He suggested such lowering of Canadian

tariff duties as would reduce the cost of agricultural production, and a fiscal system which would give preferential treatment to British manufactures. He insisted that many influences were fitting Canada to 'take a place of increasing influence in the Empire to which she belongs.' It was the highest interest and the prevailing wish of her people, he contended, to maintain connection with the Empire. 'She cannot be separated from the Empire without results incalculably hazardous to the maintenance of the national position of the British people.'

There was much praise for *The Great Dominion* in Britain. *The Times*, the *Daily Chronicle*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Liverpool Mercury*, all the chief dailies of London and of the provinces reviewed it favourably and at length.

The New York *Nation*, however, emphasized the book's 'ultra-British tone' and 'Imperialist purpose.' It described the author as 'an advocate holding a brief not only for the Dominion Tory Government, but for its anti-continental and jingo ally, the Canadian Pacific Railway.' He was also, according to the *Nation*, 'a notable Colonial apostle of Imperial Federation, that dream of British unification and aggrandizement so dear to poetic minds,' and it was suggested that the object of the book was to 'refute the strictures of Mr. Goldwin Smith on the political and economic condition of the Dominion.' Comment in Canada was almost uniformly favourable. Here and there it was remembered that Parkin was a 'federationist,' or his views were interpreted as suited to the immediate purpose of political controversialists. But there was a general admission that he had done a great service to Canada by the letters to *The Times* and their publication, after careful revision, as a connected study of

Canadian conditions and problems. If *The Great Dominion* was substantially an answer to Goldwin Smith's *Canada and the Canadian Question*, there can be no doubt that time has justified the Imperial optimist rather than the Continental pessimist.

In 1894 Parkin was selected by *The Times* to 'cover' the Colonial Conference at Ottawa, and he was its special correspondent during his seven years at Upper Canada College. Throughout those years he gave *The Times* many letters dealing authoritatively with events and conditions in Canada, with the rise and fall of parties, with the qualities and policies of Canadian statesmen. He had confidential relations with Lord Aberdeen, Lord Minto and Lord Grey, and was a frequent guest at Government House while they were Governor-Generals of Canada. He was a sturdy champion of Major-General Hutton and of Lord Dundonald in their efforts to reorganize the Canadian militia, to give the country a more effective system of defence, and to exclude patronage from military appointments. He gave vigorous support to the Laurier Government when the British preference was established, and as staunchly championed the Liberal leader when in deference to popular feeling he consented to the despatch of Canadian contingents to South Africa. In *The Times*, however, he spoke always with moderation and reserve, and, so far as one can discover, never involved the paper in political controversy in Canada nor ever failed to hold the balance even between rival political leaders and parties. The course of wise impartiality which *The Times* pursues in the affairs of the Dominions was followed faithfully by Parkin, and notwithstanding his intimacy with Minto and Grey and his extreme sympathy with Hutton and Dundonald, he revealed nothing which should not have been

disclosed nor ever made *The Times* a medium of recrimination or of revelation.

Even after he returned to England to organize and administer the Rhodes Trust, Parkin was sent out by *The Times* upon special missions. He represented it at the Tercentenary celebration in Quebec in 1908, when the Plains of Abraham were dedicated as a national park and playground in recognition of the equal valour of French and English soldiers and of long years of peace and amity between the two races under the British flag, and he gave it many unsigned contributions upon subjects of which he had special knowledge and many letters upon passing events over his signature. Among his papers there is a sheet without date or name which recalls incidents and achievements with which he had a connection as *Times* correspondent. 'My own slight connection with *The Times*,' it is said, 'gave me some interesting experiences and taught me several things. When Signor Marconi was making his first famous experiments in Cape Breton he allowed me to send to *The Times* the first Press message carried by wireless across the Atlantic. Someone asked him at the time how long it took the signal to pass from Glace Bay to Poldhu. His reply was, "The ninetieth part of a second." I represented *The Times* at the first Imperial Conference held at Ottawa. One evening I was able to send off the principal conclusions of the Conference between six and seven o'clock in the evening. Next morning the Ottawa *Citizen*, handed into my room at seven o'clock, had a lengthy extract from the *Times* editorial founded on my despatch. One could have few more striking illustrations of the fact, so necessary to be understood in our Ocean Empire, that oceans do not divide. Again, *The Times* asked me to make a study of

Canada at a period when the future of the North-West was still a matter of great doubt, and the many columns then contributed were sufficient to make a small book which I still think a good picture of the Dominion of that time. At the Tercentenary of 1908 I had an interesting example of the large view taken by a great journal in national affairs. The speeches made by statesmen from various parts of the Empire at one gathering seemed to me so important that I became recklessly extravagant in cabling them to London. I expected a rebuke: I had instead a cable thanking me for my useful despatch. Then for some years as Canadian correspondent I considered it a great privilege to be able to discuss Canadian problems as fairly as I could from week to week.'

Apparently Moberly Bell once thought of asking Parkin to become chief correspondent of *The Times* for North America. The idea, however, was abandoned as impracticable. It was seen that no satisfactory news service for the United States could be sent out from Montreal, Ottawa or Toronto, nor could the affairs of Canada be treated with advantage by a correspondent with headquarters at New York or Washington. It would, perhaps, have been practicable to employ Parkin as a special writer with a commission to cover the Continent, but this would have left the transmission of day to day news to sub-correspondents in Canada and the United States, from whose despatches opinions could not always have been wisely excluded, and between whom and the chief correspondent frequent divergence of view would be bound to occur. For these and other reasons it was not found possible for Parkin, as was suggested, ' to take all the transatlantic side of things,' even if he could have been persuaded to become a wanderer over North America,

and submit to the inevitable restraints upon free expression of opinion, particularly upon questions affecting relations between Canada and the United States, which such a service would have involved.

A man as often on the heights as Parkin could not but be at times in the depths, and during the lean years in England he was more than once tempted to abandon his search for the ideal and to be content with any honourable work which offered a competence. He had a large and growing family; he was deeply devoted to wife and children; and he felt that in education and in comfort they deserved the best the world could give. On one occasion even the fifty sovereigns laid aside specially for an emergency had to be taken one by one till only the arrival of a cheque from some unknown editor saved the fiftieth of the golden flock. A man so hard pressed may be pardoned for thinking wistfully of steady work and an adequate monthly cheque. For some years he had a standing offer from George Brown, son of the distinguished leader of the Canadian Liberal party before Confederation, to join the staff of the Nelson Publishing Company in Edinburgh, at double his existing salary; but by this time he was Principal of Upper Canada College, and had a steady salary, even if an inadequate one, and the offer was easier to resist.

More enticing was a suggestion made in 1894 by Sir William Van Horne that he should join the staff of the Canadian Pacific Railway and take charge of certain sides of its propaganda, apparently in connection with its search for immigrants. Parkin saw at once that the connection would restrict his freedom of utterance and of action. He would be bound from the very nature of the relation to be the apologist and champion of a corporation. With such

a corporation as the Canadian Pacific this perhaps would not have been a difficult service, but there would have been inhibitions and restraints peculiarly irksome to him. If his tongue could not have uttered the things he felt and believed he would have been shorn of half his strength, and life would have lost far more than half its savour. Among those who strongly advised against acceptance of this proposal were his friends Septimus Vaughan Morgan and Arnold-Forster. They held that if he became an employee of the railway he would lose prestige with the Canadian people and speak with diminished authority upon the questions in which he was most deeply concerned. There is reason to think that few of his friends gave him different counsel, although they knew that by accepting Van Horne's offer he would be freed from immediate anxieties and from apprehensions about the future. Parkin hesitated and delayed, but at last seems to have decided to give a provisional acceptance on certain terms. Van Horne in turn hesitated and delayed. A year later Parkin was offered the Principalship of Upper Canada College, and never afterward did he need to seek a position.

CHAPTER IX

THRING AND MACDONALD

THE most laborious task which Parkin ever undertook was to write the *Life of Edward Thring*, Headmaster of Uppingham and one of the most virile and robust figures in the history of education in Great Britain. As a teacher Thring sought primarily and chiefly to create and stimulate moral character, but there was no aspect of education in England in which he was not a pioneer and a reformer. He established the first gymnasium in the great public schools. He was the first to make music an integral and indeed an important part in the life of the normal boy. At Uppingham school walls were first subjected to artistic decorative treatment. At his house in 1869 was held the first conference of head masters of English public schools, and in 1887 the first conference of head mistresses of high schools. The first mission to the poor in London under the auspices of the great schools of England had its impulse from Uppingham. He was one of the first to war against over-pressure and the system of competitive examinations. Minds could not, he said, be inspected nor produced as specimens on a board with a pin stuck through them as if they were beetles. He wanted to have the classics illuminated with maps and figures of great historic scenes and actions. 'The furniture of the rooms,' he once said, 'and the treatment of the furniture should give glory to the lessons.' Teaching he described as the

noblest occupation in this wide world after religion, if done in a truly religious spirit. He was a strong Churchman, not averse from controversy, a Christian who could be very humble and very saintly. He was, too, a poet and an autocrat. For the most part his verse has passed into silence, but he is still a living influence in English education and his voice, coming down the years, still calls thousands to battle.

Between Thring and Parkin there were natural points of contact and a greater likeness to each other than at first appears. Each was downright, fearless, uncompromising, and intolerant of sham and pretension. Parkin, less bold perhaps than Thring and less original, had grace, sweetness, and patience, and these were not among Thring's distinguishing characteristics. The one was as loyal to his faiths and convictions as the other, but while Parkin for the most part lived out his days in peace and serenity, the other passed through life in storm and tempest.

The relation between Thring and Parkin is finely revealed in a letter which the Headmaster wrote (January 31st, 1887) when Parkin had under anxious consideration the offer of the Imperial Federation League to become its organizer and spokesman.

'I write,' he said, 'a hurried line, as time presses, on the subject of the call you have received to come to England on the Federation question. I do not presume to advise, still less to use any persuasion, yet I think the thoughts of one who has thought much over such life questions may be of value as data to help your own judgment. Such calls, though occasionally no doubt neutral, present themselves to my mind either as temptations or calls. If they are side winds coming from outside and drawing a man off

his life work from motives of vanity or chance of gain dangled as a bait, they require careful scrutiny and probably are temptations presenting glitter and possibilities in the place of sober solid everyday work. On the other hand, if they are calls to powerful work, especially if a competent authority makes the call, and they grow out of the working life by a natural growth, and carry it on in a higher but not less real sphere, then they seem to me Providence opening a door and giving the command to move. I well understand your feeling, the great freezing chill that has passed over the whole of this fair field of hope. But, as far as I do apply my principles, it all the more makes me think the call a call from God, since all great things are done out of the deeps of hearts that feel, and have had self-love and personal ambition killed. It may be that before you could do the great work in the true way you had, like Moses, to be overthrown, and sent into the wilderness to commune with the shepherd thoughts of an humbled heart. At least I know all I care for has come out of the sorrows, and all such power as I have has been changed and transfigured by defeat and pain. In fact your sorrow makes me think it is your call. Yet do not mistake me, I offer no judgment. " No man can deliver his brother " is true in these things also. I only throw out some thoughts for you to toss about, and sift, if perchance they may in any way be of service to you.'

In the introduction to the *Life and Letters* Parkin explains the circumstances through which he became Thring's editor and biographer. ' In a few solemn lines written a few weeks before his death, but when he was still strong and had apparently many years of active work before him, Thring said to me that if ever anything had to be written about Uppingham and his work there,

he would like me to do it. At the time when his unlooked-for death compelled a decision, circumstances made it exceedingly difficult for me to undertake the task; the terms of his request made it still more difficult to refuse if any record of his life drawn from his own papers was to be preserved. For the delay which has taken place in the completion of a task assumed under such conditions I have no apology to offer. The pressure of other and imperative duties has made it necessary to do the work at intervals during years filled with strenuous occupations in many parts of the world.' Parkin could not have foreseen how difficult would be the task or how many years must elapse before the work could be completed. Thring died in 1887, but more than ten years passed before the two volumes of the *Life and Letters* appeared. Later there was issued a second edition in a single volume. In spite of the success of the book, the financial return was pitifully inadequate for the author's labour and sacrifice in the preparation of the volumes under trying conditions, if this can be said without any suggestion of reflection upon the publishers, with whom Parkin's relations were always sympathetic and harmonious.

The choice of Parkin as the biographer of Thring was resented by certain colleagues and associates of the Headmaster of Uppingham, and was distasteful even to members of Thring's family. His fitness for the work was questioned and things were said which only those ignorant of Parkin's disposition and character could have whispered. He bore with characteristic serenity the misinterpretation of his relation to Thring and the uncharitable distortion of the circumstances under which Thring's papers were committed to his hands. Even in his most intimate private letters there is neither explana-

tion nor protest. Nor is there a word of harsh or impatient criticism of those who scoffed at his attainments and through suspicion and misunderstanding made his task more difficult.

There is a suggestion of these animosities and rivalries in the review of the volumes by the *Journal of Education*, with, however, a frank admission that Thring was wise in the choice of his biographer. ' It was with some surprise, not unmixed with trepidation,' the *Journal* said, ' that the friends and admirers of Thring learnt that the task of commemorating his life and work at Uppingham had been committed to a Canadian professor. There were two, at least, of his fellow-workers and pupils in England who seemed, both by literary ability and intimate relationship, more fitted for the task. In the choice of his biographer, as in all his actions, Thring showed his independence of character, his Autarkeia, and the result has justified his judgment. Ten years is, indeed, a long time to wait, and it is only " strenuous occupations in many parts of the world " that could excuse the delay. The work, Dr. Parkin tells us, has been done in his rare intervals of leisure, but it bears no signs of hurry or scamping. It gives us the very form and presence of the man, and, at the same time, it shows a comprehension of the English public-school system that is rare in one not to the manner born, and a judicial attitude that could hardly have been maintained by one who had mingled in the strife.'

Two other books dealing with the character and career of Thring were published before Parkin's *Life and Letters* appeared. *A Memory of Edward Thring* was written by John Huntley Skrine, who was for twelve years a pupil at Uppingham and for fourteen years a colleague of the Headmaster ' in ties of nearest intimacy.' The other,

Edward Thring, Teacher and Poet, was written by Canon H. D. Rawnsley, also a pupil and co-worker of Thring in social and educational movements. These books, Parkin says in his last chapter, ' furnish striking illustration of the profound impression which Thring made upon those who worked under or with him.' There is no hint of depreciation, as there should not have been, nor of grievances remembered. The *Life and Letters* established Parkin's fitness to be Thring's biographer. Indeed it may be that his detachment from the controversies in which Thring was so often engaged was a qualification for the work he undertook with such apprehension and reluctance. For the most part he wisely abstained from passing judgment between Thring and those with whom he contended, and allowed the diary and letters to reveal his motives, his ideals, and his ambitions. The diary fills the bulk of Parkin's pages, and there are copious extracts from the letters, but there is also the most faithful following of Thring's career, step by step, a vivid portrait of the man himself and a sympathetic and comprehensive story of the exertions and sacrifices by which Uppingham was made one of the great public schools of England. If the diary and the letters occupy many pages it is not because the writer was slothful or uninformed, but because he believed it was better that Thring should reveal himself and that in what Thring said and wrote there was the force and unction of a great personality which could only be weakened by interpretation and misshapen by adulation. In Parkin's pages, however, the figure stands out clearly and boldly. There is no suggestion that the ' Canadian professor ' was feeling his way through a strange country. He spoke with ample knowledge of conditions into which he was not born and of events which passed far beyond the

range of his physical vision. The book was reviewed at unusual length by the newspapers and the educational journals of the United Kingdom for the most part with praise and admiration. The *Manchester Courier* said: 'If we were sick of biographies of strenuous men this book would make us change our minds.' Few errors were detected, few of his conclusions were challenged, no serious neglect or omission was emphasized. Even those who hinted that the extracts from the diary and the letters were rather too copious confessed that there were no lifeless chapters and that little of the abundant material could have been wisely rejected.

In January 1899 Parkin wrote to Canon Bell of Marlborough College: 'It pleased me very much to know that you still remembered me in your leisure moments. I was also gratified to find that you had been interested in the Thring biography and satisfied with the way in which I had done the work. I ought perhaps to tell you that I did it under considerable difficulties. The fact that Skrine and Rawnsley had both thought it necessary to write a book about him made it difficult for me to use material which would have lightened the volumes and given them a more popular side. I was perhaps too sensitive about saying over again what had been said before, and Skrine has written to reproach me for not using as material everything he had written. The first edition has sold well, so the publishers tell me, and, therefore, there is just the possibility that in another edition I might be able to remedy some of these defects. That, however, is a thing of the future. Meanwhile it is a great happiness to me to have accomplished, however insufficiently, the work my friend asked me to do.'

To have passed almost unscathed through the hands of

critics, vigilant, independent, and informed, was a signal achievement when one remembers that between Parkin and Thring there was a late growth of intimacy, sudden when it came but long deferred, and that Parkin had to grope back into the past for the atmosphere in which Thring had moved before they met, and that down to the time when the biography appeared he had lived altogether only a few years in England. It has only to be added that if there was criticism of the choice of Parkin as Thring's literary executor his family rejoiced over the way in which the trust was discharged. This is expressed in many letters of confidence, admiration, and affection. There is nothing in his correspondence more remarkable than the continuous exchange of letters, extending over many years, between himself and Thring's relatives, through which each seemed to keep alive memories of the dominant personality who had capacity for affection as well as the temper of combat. In July 1896 Parkin wrote to his wife from London that 'the Thrings have written to say that their house is my house and head-quarters as long as I am in England.' In another letter he said: 'I cannot tell you how they all turn their hearts out of doors to meet me and confide in me. Just now they have a great and serious family trouble, and they take me into their very inmost family councils as if I were an elder son.'

It may be that the study which Parkin gave to Thring's career had an effect upon himself. In a letter to his wife from Hornblotten (August 17th, 1888) he said: 'I know that I have to set my teeth like steel this next year or two if I am to fight my way through all that has to be done, and turn every power into steady work. Sometimes I half dread it, but more often I know that it is and will

be best for me, if I can but keep myself from worrying. This I must try. Sometimes as I watch the tremendous load which poor Thring had to bear as he went on with his work I wonder how he stood it. He was almost always in debt, and with a host of troubles on all sides. I only wish I had his sublime faith, though he was weak enough at times. On the other hand I know that if I have hard work I need every bit of it to keep me better than I am. Work for me is something like music was to Orpheus when he sang " high and clear the praises of the Gods " to drown the songs of the Sirens.' Many years later (October 8th, 1907) the author said to his wife : ' I took up the Thring *Life* to-night after dinner and was deeply interested in picking up the old threads again of that noble life. More and more I feel that it was an honour to have been allowed to write it.'

To the end of his life Parkin continued to receive, and never without being touched, letters from teachers throughout the world, telling him of the inspiration and stimulus which they had received from *The Life and Letters of Edward Thring*.

The Life of Sir John Macdonald, published in 1908 as one of a series called *The Makers of Canada*, is not remarkable for research or for originality in opinion or in argument. It throws no fresh light upon the career of the founder of the Canadian Conservative party, and adds little or nothing to the common knowledge of his character and achievements. But if Parkin drew his facts from familiar sources there is a vigour in the writing and a candour in judgment which give the book authority and distinction. Franker than most of Macdonald's biographers in deploring the sins of the individual and exposing the crafty manœuvres of the politician, there is

adequate recognition of the genius for political leadership and the rare practical capacity for the business of government which he displayed in re-creating and liberalizing the Conservative party; in finding the concessions and compromises essential to the union of the British North-American Provinces under a common Government; in reconciling sections, races, and religions to the fact of Confederation through the difficult years which followed the union; in resisting every movement towards disintegration and slowly but surely developing a national spirit; and in the elaboration of economic measures necessary to strengthen common material interests between the Provinces, resist the destructive effects of American industrial policy, and establish the commercial independence of Canada within the Empire.

If the book has no intimate gossip or dramatic quality, no striking portraits, no revelations which turn history into new channels, it is a sober, faithful, and fluent story of the life of a man of fascinating personality, who shaped events with a singular prudence and rare vision and who more than any other fashioned the institutions of Canada and held her people in allegiance to Throne and Empire. The volume still has value as an illustration of Parkin's rigid honesty and just interpretation of the true significance of incidents and events. During the later years of Sir John Macdonald there was, as has been said elsewhere, a movement more formidable than is now realized to establish preferential trading relations with the United States and draw Canada away from the Empire. If that was not the deliberate object of those who committed themselves to Pro-American commercial policies there could have been no other result if those policies had prevailed. Who can say that they would not have

prevailed if the resisting forces had not been inspired and directed by a statesman of such consummate skill and high prestige as the Conservative leader? The true significance of this conflict of ideas and interests Parkin's pages reveal, and if only for its insight into a critical period of Canadian history the *Life of Sir John Macdonald* has interest, value and authority.

The proofs of this book were read by Lord Minto, who expressed admiration and approval. The author seems to have asked the Governor-General if he could afford to ignore the fact that for a time Sir John Macdonald took intoxicants to excess. There was, when the book appeared, criticism of this reference, which Parkin allowed to pass without notice. Lord Minto wrote: 'You asked me as to the advisability of mentioning the intemperance question. It seems to me you could not have done so more delicately, and I think to omit all allusion to it would have been to omit what is really well known to anyone acquainted with Canadian history. Besides, he completely triumphed over the weakness.'

Fluent in speech, probably as fine an extempore speaker as any of his day, Parkin never in his books yielded, as Gladstone so often did, to the temptation to easy writing. His writing was condensed to an extent which his speaking never was. Sentences were written and re-written, and then flung away. The introduction to a paragraph or a chapter was often written six or seven times before he was satisfied. Time and money were not spared in the verification of facts.

All he claimed for the *Macdonald* was that it was 'a piece of honest work,' and it is not too much to say that upon nothing which Parkin ever wrote could any other judgment be pronounced.

CHAPTER X

UPPER CANADA COLLEGE

FOUNDED in 1829 by Sir John Colborne, afterwards Field-Marshal Lord Seaton, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Upper Canada, a veteran of the Peninsula and of Waterloo, Upper Canada College, though younger than one or two schools in the Maritime Provinces and Quebec, is recognized as the most historic school in Canada.

It was an Upper Canada College boy who brought to Toronto the first news of the Mackenzie Rebellion in 1837. An Upper Canada College boy rode behind Lord Cardigan in the charge of the Light Brigade, and was the only officer of those who rode back to be awarded the Victoria Cross. An Upper Canada College boy led the Canadian voyageurs to the Nile. No other school sends so large a contingent to the Royal Military College and thence to the service of the Empire. An Upper Canada College boy was the greatest constitutional lawyer whom Canada has known. An Upper Canada College boy pleaded the case of Canada in the Alaska Boundary dispute. Alike in business and in the professions her sons are prominent.

But at the time when Parkin took over the Principalship the College had fallen upon evil days, and since about 1880 there had been a movement for its abolition. It had been founded by the Provincial Government, and after

the development of a Provincial University had been maintained primarily to train prospective students; its endowment had been given by the Province, and by the Province its finances were controlled. But the development of education in Ontario had created a situation into which no adequate attempt had been made to fit the College. An excellent system of local primary and secondary day schools had been established under a Minister of Education,[1] with a seat in the Provincial Cabinet, and critics of the College claimed that it had now no natural or necessary function. The teachers in these schools, men and women of deserved influence in their communities, tended to look upon the College with a suspicion which its authorities had done little or nothing to remove. It was described by its opponents as an institution alien to the democratic spirit of the Province, a nursery of class feeling and a school of snobbery of which only the children of the rich could take advantage.

Upper Canada College called itself 'the Canadian Eton,' but a better parallel would be Westminster or Clifton, for from the first both resident and non-resident pupils were admitted. Even then the parallel is a poor one, for the residential system has never taken root in Canada as it has in England. The situation in Ontario was and is much more like that in Scotland, where a few such schools do indeed exist, but where the great mass of the population is educated in local day schools. In Canada the pupils and teachers in these schools were even less willing to acknowledge the social superiority which in England is undisputed than one of the ancient Grammar

[1] Each of the nine Canadian Provinces has its own system of education. In Ontario the primary schools are known as 'Public,' the secondary as 'High' Schools. A High School with a certain number of masters who are specialists is known as a Collegiate Institute.

Schools of Scotland would be to admit the superiority of Fettes or Loretto. Indeed, there have been times when the few residential foundations in Ontario have been looked on, subconsciously at least, as high-class reformatories for the idle sons of the well-to-do. Parkin had frequent experience of parents who frankly told him that their son was being entrusted to him because he was running wild in the streets of the small town wherein they dwelt. Yet a glamour still clung faintly about the College sufficient to exasperate its critics, if not to inspire its pupils.

The crisis came to a head in 1887 when the Provincial Government resolved to do away with Upper Canada College and to devote its endowment to the very necessary improvement of the Provincial University. The 'Old Boys' of the school had no desire to see it executed and its property confiscated, and a public meeting, attended by many of the most prominent citizens of the Province, showed the Government that the backing of the College was too solid to permit of its abolition. A compromise was arranged by which the buildings and lands in the heart of the city, which had become unsuitable for a residential school, were sold. A portion of the endowment was handed over to the Provincial University, and with the remainder new buildings were erected in the suburb of Deer Park on the northern limit of Toronto. The administration, which had previously been under the direct control of the Provincial Department of Education, was put under a Board of Governors, on which the Minister of Education was still influential.

For the next few years the school languished, and its future was still uncertain when Parkin arrived. The situation was not unknown to him, and when the offer of

the Principalship was first made he hesitated. Among the important questions which he asked were these :

'1. Has the Head Master a decisive voice in all matters of internal discipline, in the appointment or dismissal of subordinates, and in making expulsions, when he deems that necessary ?

'2. Does the Head Master determine the course of study ?

'3. In a school which takes the place of home for the majority of the pupils I look upon a strong religious tone and a sufficient religious training as essential. Does the school provide for its own Sunday services ? If so, will the Head Master have a free hand in dealing with these ? If not, are there churches of different denominations near enough for boys to attend ? '

To these and other questions satisfactory answers were returned by the Chairman of the Board, Judge J. J. Kingsmill, always his staunch friend and supporter ; pressure to accept was brought to bear upon him by such friends as Sir Oliver Mowat, the Premier of the Province, and Colonel G. T. Denison, Vice-Chairman of the Board, and an old colleague in the Imperial Federation League, and towards the end of August 1895 Parkin sailed for Canada. The appointment of a man so well known at once made an impression ; his old friend, Principal Grant, at the time the chief figure in Canadian academic life, voiced the general feeling when he said that the Board was 'signally fortunate in securing the services of a Canadian who had made his mark in a world-wide arena, a man to lead boys and to make men.' He was well received in the city and Province ; a ' banquet ' was given him ; both his inaugural address and his first speech to the boys made a distinct impression by their sincerity and note

of high purpose. They were reprinted in pamphlet form and widely circulated. Very simply, with no rhetoric, he stressed Thring's doctrines, which were also his own, of the importance of truth, of character and of religion in education :

' The conditions on which a great public school can be thus built up and maintained as a great school, and as a living power for good in a land, can be stated almost as definitely as a proposition in mathematics. In the first place, there must be moral purpose behind it. To have a moral purpose, you must, in my opinion, have a religious spirit. I therefore put little faith in a school which does not regard the cultivation of a religious spirit as among its chief functions. Without this I would hardly consider the other work we are doing here worth doing.'

The next seven years were years of hard work and of distinct accomplishment. From the first he was recognized by the secondary schools of the Province as their chief representative in public life, and many a teacher in outlying and uninspiring districts felt a new thrill of pride in his profession as he read or listened to Parkin's eloquent words. Both he and his wife were admirable and generous hosts, especially to the boys and masters, but also to a succession of guests, many of them prominent men from Great Britain. In a city and Province which were becoming more and more industrialized, and therefore to some extent in danger of stressing the importance of the possession of wealth, teachers felt with pride that the two houses which no distinguished man left Toronto without visiting were those of Goldwin Smith and of Parkin.

In the school itself he did very considerable things. He was a lover of trees and of flowers, a skilled and

enthusiastic gardener. He laid out the grounds, planted noble avenues of elms, and made what had been thought an unworkable patch of clay into a beautiful private garden for himself. He collected enough money to build a lodge and gates, and a separate hospital. When he came he found boys of from 9 to 19 crowded together in one great barrack. His ambition from the first was to break this up into houses on the English plan, and in 1900, with the help of Mr. H. C. Hammond, a prominent citizen and 'Old Boy,' of whose help he ever afterwards spoke with the deepest gratitude, he collected $50,000, which was used to build a separate Preparatory School, wherein were housed all boarders and day boys under 14 years of age. With this lever the Provincial Government was prevailed upon to pass an Act whereby the College was freed from the remaining vestiges of political control, and made a public foundation under a Board of Governors which is virtually controlled by the 'Old Boys,' although the Minister of Education is still *ex officio* one of the seventeen Governors. This reform was passed unanimously in the Legislature, and was heartily approved of in the Province, although the *Farmers' Sun*, the official organ of the farmers of the Province, on which his old opponent Goldwin Smith was influential, accused the Government of handing over to private persons an endowment worth $400,000, and of turning the College into 'a propagandist institution to the Tory party and the Anglican Church.'

At the time of his coming to the College, Canada was in the depths of a severe financial and commercial depression. Two or three years after his arrival this began to improve, but to the last he was greatly hampered in his attempts to raise money, and correspondingly grateful to those who

aided him. The loosening of the political tie had involved the almost total loss of the Provincial endowment, and the College was now dependent for its revenue upon the fees. These at his coming were wretchedly inadequate, and during his Principalship he twice persuaded his Governors to raise them substantially; in spite of this the number both of boarders and of day boys steadily increased. A large deficit accumulated under his predecessor was wiped out, the salaries of the staff were increased, and twenty acres of land, to the west and north of the original thirty, were acquired. The consent of his Board of Governors to this purchase was not obtained without a struggle. The pressure which he put upon them, due to his belief in the growth of the city, was abundantly justified, for less than twenty years later half of his purchase was sold by them at a price many times as great as the total original expenditure. The dreamer had, as often, proved himself wiser even in this generation than the practical man.

Above all, the spirit of the boys and of the community was raised from the depression in which he found it in 1895 to one of hope and confidence. Some of the structural defects of the present main building, by which he found himself hampered, are said on good authority to be due to the feeling of its political builders that the College was doomed to extinction, and that construction should have in view the possibility of the building eventually being turned to other uses. At Parkin's coming this fate was being warded off more by the loyalty of the 'Old Boys' than by any real achievement; before his departure the College was recognized as a permanency even by its critics.

On his arrival he found the internal discipline extremely weak. Several expulsions and a large amount of severe caning were necessary, and from neither did he shrink.

But from the first he set himself to improve the spirit by nobler methods. To the great traditions of the school he constantly appealed. The boys were told, and told well, the story of Colborne's victorious change of front at Waterloo. The grandson of the first Principal founded a prize in History. The possessors were persuaded to present the sword and Victoria Cross of Colonel Dunn, the hero of Balaclava, and on great occasions these were shown. His chief aid, however, was his own character and his own achievements. His temperament was that of the orator, and it made him wonderful with boys in the mass, as it did with any large audience. By the inspiration of an address, based on a real belief in human nature, he actually roused the boys to keep away from a neighbouring apple orchard. When they failed him, his deep feeling of pain was very impressive. On one occasion, after a good deal of stealing of books, the culprit was run to earth. Parkin expelled him publicly, and none present will ever forget the glow of his indignation, mixed with a deep feeling of pity for the unfortunate boy as he stumbled out, dismissed forever from our fellowship. On this occasion, as on many others, he was helped by the confidence of the boys in his justice and 'squareness.' They felt instinctively that he would exact no higher standard from them than he required of himself, and that, whatever his personal feelings of like or dislike, justice would be shown. On finer natures his effect was very great, and many instances could be cited of boys turned from wrong to right, of words spoken which were never forgotten.

These are real achievements, and show the extent to which he won the confidence both of his pupils and of the public. They were won against not a little inertia and

misunderstanding, and against many obstacles, financial and otherwise. Yet his own feeling and that of his friends was that both personally and publicly his success was in certain ways hampered by the defects of his qualities.

The drudgery of certain sides of teaching and of administration was always irksome to him. His triumphs as a speaker had given him a love for the platform, and the publicist at times bulked larger than the teacher. He always claimed, and with obvious sincerity, that the large amount of public speaking which he did was necessary in order to make more widely known the College and the work which it was doing. At first this was true. Shortly after his appointment a local quarrel arose about the request of the tramways of the city to run street cars on Sunday. Extremists on both sides talked unwisely, and much heat was aroused. Parkin came out manfully in favour of Sunday street cars as necessary in so large a city for the transportation of the working classes upon their one holiday, and took with a smile the criticisms of the 'unco guid.' The people of the Province felt that the head of Upper Canada College was also a citizen, and the result was soon seen in increased applications for the admission of boys. Later on, however, his love of the larger field and his deep belief in his Imperial mission led him to neglect some sides of the internal administration of the school. On the other hand, he had the foible not unknown in such men of being extremely unwilling frankly to delegate small matters. As an administrator he could plan out a great scheme, and with the zeal of a prophet fill others with the desire for its accomplishment, but a certain inability either to undertake or to delegate the smaller matters of the law, deprived him in the last

resort of the full co-operation of the staff or of the Board of Governors.

The general feeling of his colleagues was one of pride which at times became intense. At a great meeting in December 1899, at the outbreak of the South African War, his eloquence so swept the audience that one colleague whispered to another, ' My God, I shall never dare to criticize such a man again.' Criticism is inevitably the prevailing note of any common-room, and the greatest of headmasters cannot expect to be exempted from it; but in this case the prophet cannot be counted wholly blameless in his failure to keep more commonplace natures on the heights to which he had for the moment raised them. Both his Board of Governors and his colleagues were naturally below him in imaginative intuition, and tended at times to discuss at length matters which to him seemed unimportant. But after all, much of life is made up of little things, and in the traffic of everyday affairs both Board of Governors and colleagues found Parkin at times both vague and uninterested in matters which if small when viewed *sub specie eternitatis* were yet not without their place in the smooth running of the institution. More than one meeting broke up in depression because after a speech by the Principal had roused the Board or the masters to the need of striving for the spiritual welfare of the boys, no concrete suggestion was brought forward for discussion.

At Fredericton he had been a magnificent teacher. At Upper Canada College the administration and financing of a growing school and his many public cares left him little time for this; and for the first three years he was greatly occupied with the *Life of Thring*. At times he took a few of the best boys in the Classics, but this was

always irregular, and finally ceased altogether. Though he had never aimed at scholarships, or at producing prizewinners, but rather at 'faithful training of the individual pupil, and the building up of individual character,' he did not lack belief in the class-room as a stimulus, and spoke more than once of his keen desire to get back to the work of rousing gifted pupils, which he had done with such success in New Brunswick, and of his disappointment at finding it impracticable. But genuine though the desire was, a more introspective man would have seen that for him the days of such teaching were over, and that henceforth the thrill of the great audience and the great subject would be irresistible. On Sunday morning he conducted an inspiring Bible Class, but its value was lessened by the arrangements of the Boarding House, whereby parents were so freely permitted to take their boys out for week-ends that his class was never the same on successive Sundays. Perhaps his greatest work was done in the Sunday Evening Services. At these he frequently had prominent speakers from a distance, but no addresses were so looked forward to as his own, which he prepared with care at least equal to that given to his most important political addresses. Even here, however, he was hampered. The College was undenominational, and its religious exercises were carried on in a rather gaunt Assembly Hall. He longed for a chapel, but this, like others of his dreams, still remains unrealized.

Thus neither from the Board nor from the common-room did he get the full sympathy for which he longed. Probably in unconscious imitation of Thring he began a diary shortly after his appointment, and in it his disappointment is recorded.

'This old year has closed with great weariness for both

Annie and myself. We have never, I think, felt our strength at a lower ebb, and with so little courage to face coming work. We are both utterly overworked and overstrained. The insufficiency of income as compared with the life we are almost compelled to live here is partly the reason. One greatly doubts whether in this huge place and with the material—boys and masters—we have to deal with, a success can be made of the place. Neither of us can throw off cares as some can. Sometimes I fear I have dropped into too worldly a way of living and thinking. Unless the life here can be made more methodical and true it will scarcely be tolerable. I want to try anew and earnestly.

'*January* 14, 1897. The work is wearing and the vexations endless. Great patience, calmness, and trust alone will enable me to carry it through. May God give me strength for it and judgment.

'*January* 17, 1897. A memorable day, I think, in my life here. At a masters' meeting, which we had after morning Bible Class to arrange some small details of work, two or three of the masters openly used expressions which made it clear that they did not look upon the duty of Christian teaching in the school at all in the same way that I do. They did not consider they helped the work of the school by going to church with the boys, and more or less frankly showed that they were not believers in Christian work or Christianity. Can I be true to my own feelings and principles and lead such men? Good fellows they are too, and in their crude way trying to be sincere—but they little saw the impossible situation they create from their attitude. I hope I am sincere when I say that I see no point in working, in pouring out one's life here, if it be not for the Christian ideal.

'To what will this day's revelations lead on? I know not, but I pray to something higher and better. I feel as if the atmosphere had been cleared around me—as if I saw my way—where all was vagueness and mist before.'

The issue involved in this dispute was so fundamental that one wonders whether he would not have been well advised to request the resignations of the recalcitrants. This his kindliness would not allow him to do. Besides, a very essential side of his character was his belief in sweet reasonableness. The thing seemed so clear to him in the light of his own impassioned conviction that he could not but believe that the dissenter would soon come round. It was a fault which more than once led him to retain colleagues who were no real strength to him. On this occasion, in a sense the honours were his, for Parkin had a real though intermittent sense of humour, and to the most open agnostic was given the Sunday task of teaching their Psalms to three little Jews, to the ill-concealed joy of his colleagues.

But both with Board and with common-room the incompatibility continued. Writing to his wife three years later he says:

'I can see that I am far from having the staying power I had, and yours is much shaken. We must undertake no adventures which are beyond our power. I seem to have had a wonderfully clear sight to-day of how one might live and act, but alas! I wonder if the vision will all melt in practice? I have been reading Stevenson's letters, and it is marvellous what he did while daily fighting for his life against pure weakness. If he did it we can do it. But I do not want to lose my ideals. Rather I wish for more consecration of life to high ends—from which I fear that personally I have fallen much. I very much fear, dearie,

that I have not got it in me to *fight* people to work my way out of our difficulties. I think I have got to be very calm and strong if I am to hold my place and do my work here with perfect self-respect, and we have a very peculiar and I fear narrow body of people to deal with, who could easily wear one's soul out if he projected himself against them. I'm not going to do it. But I think I see a better way by which I need not suffer too much at their hands and meanwhile quietly strengthen one's position. But we shall need great patience and forbearance.'

It was well that after seven years of strain a wider field of work was opened out to him in the administration of the Rhodes Scholarships, a field in which his noble quest of the ideal had fuller scope, and in which drudgery and routine were less continuous. He still had great plans; impressed on the Dominion the need of more prizes in the profession, to which eager youth might aspire; adumbrated to his Board a system of affiliated Preparatory Schools from Atlantic to Pacific, all looking to Upper Canada College as their head. His ideas had begun to grip the imagination of the moneyed men of the community; great changes and improvements were on the horizon which would have enabled him to disregard the pin-pricks of the common-room. But dissensions had broken out in the staff over the question of the appointment to the headship of the Preparatory School. Three masters had resigned, and he was overworked, discouraged and disheartened. As the inspirer of a revival in the school, the leader of parents and boys alike against the sordid mediocrity and lowness of standards into which it had drifted, he had been splendid; but with the change to the better conditions, which he had brought about, he was, and felt himself to be, in some ways unfitted for the

grind of steady routine. The prophet had done his work, and was glad that the call to an even more important task left the Governors free to appoint a successor, who he hoped would be able to consolidate the gains so hardly won.

CHAPTER XI

ADMINISTRATOR OF THE RHODES TRUST

Parkin grew slowly into an honest regard for Cecil Rhodes. There was a hardness in Rhodes when occasion required and a ruthlessness in decision and action which belong to many men who get wealth and to many great rulers and administrators. Parkin and Rhodes never met, though it is an interesting coincidence that they matriculated into the University of Oxford on the same day of October, 1873, each more mature than the average undergraduate, each already possessed by the vision of the mission of Oxford within the British Empire. They probably would have met, however, if Rhodes had lived only a few months longer. In 1901 Lord Grey visited Canada and was a guest at Upper Canada College. He had been associated with Rhodes in Africa and never failed thereafter to champion the great builder and dreamer with all the impulsive ardour and chivalry for which he was distinguished. Parkin, in a memorandum found among his papers, relates that ' In the course of such conversation as we had on Imperial matters I mentioned to Lord Grey the great disappointment I felt on account of the shadow thrown upon the career of Rhodes by the Jameson Raid, which seemed at the moment to have blighted the hopes many of us had entertained of him as a great leader in Imperial affairs.' In reply Grey, described by Parkin as ' one of the most sincere and honourable of

men,' who knew Rhodes well, said: 'You are coming to London. Rhodes is coming too. I shall see that you have a chance to meet, and when you have had some hours talk with him about the British Empire, the world in general, and his fellow-men, I shall then listen willingly to any criticism you are inclined to make of him.' Parkin admits that he was deeply impressed by Grey's 'absolute confidence' in Rhodes, and as he came to have more knowledge of the man whose bequests he was to administer he seems to have found ample reason for complete acceptance of Grey's estimate of the South African statesman. Some months later, and before Parkin could go to London, Rhodes died and the will was published. With its main features Parkin believed Grey was familiar when they talked together in Toronto, and he thought the eager desire manifested for a meeting between Rhodes and himself was due to an idea even then in Grey's mind that he should have a part in giving effect to its provisions.

On June 25th, 1902, while Parkin was in London, he was approached by Grey with the direct proposal to undertake the organization of the Rhodes Scholarship system. The invitation, he said afterward, came as 'a complete surprise.' He felt that he could not summarily forsake Upper Canada College, but at the same time he realized that his whole life was a preparation for the work to which he was called by the Rhodes Trustees. 'The conception of Rhodes,' he wrote, 'was on the direct line of the ideas about national unity which had filled my mind for many years, and it seemed to promise more than anything else the fulfilment of long cherished dreams.' The trusted friends whom he consulted agreed that he could not reject the proposal. A long interview followed with the Rhodes Trustees, Lord Rosebery, Lord Grey, Lord Milner,

Dr. Jameson, Sir Lewis Michell, Mr. Alfred Beit, and Mr. Bourchier F. Hawksley, at which it was made clear that if he should accept the appointment he would have adequate authority, ample freedom of action, and a generous income and allowances. Reluctant as they were to part with Parkin and go out in search of a new Principal, the Governors of Upper Canada College quickly realized that he could not easily decline a position for which he had such great and singular qualifications and through which his influence and service would be enhanced and extended. With the way thus made easy, on August 1st he definitely accepted the offer of the Rhodes Trust to organize the Scholarship system, and at 56 years of age entered upon the most active and perhaps the most influential stage of his career. In his letter of acceptance (June 27th, 1902), addressed to Lord Grey, Parkin said :

'I have now thought over as carefully as I can your proposal of Wednesday morning, and I have discussed it with my wife and with two or three friends whose opinion and advice I value. I have come to the conclusion that I ought to look upon it as a call to higher work. Subject therefore to such definition of the position and its duties as seems necessary before proceeding to a final agreement, I write to say that I am willing to accept the post on the lines outlined in our conversation. The giving up of my present work is a somewhat severe wrench, and I shall have to ask your Trustees to use their consideration in helping me to mitigate as far as possible any harm to Upper Canada College from leaving it too abruptly when passing through a rather critical stage of its development. On the other hand I am prepared to give my best thought and effort to the task of giving full effect to the noble benefaction of Mr. Rhodes, and I consider it a great honour to

be connected with this great national conception. I would like to express to the Trustees my deep sense of the confidence placed in me, and especially in the case of those who, like Lord Rosebery, Lord Milner, and yourself, have formed their judgment after more or less intimate acquaintance with me. I shall be glad to meet you at any time for the further discussion of details.'

There was general expression both of regret and of satisfaction in Canada when his decision was announced. It was felt that as between Parkin and the Dominion the separation was final, but there was also a sense of pride in the fact that he was to direct a revolutionary experiment in education, and a deep consciousness that there was distinction for the land of their birth in the association of an Osler and a Parkin at Oxford. It was, Parkin said, a strange turn of the wheel that took him back to Oxford to do ' something quite unique in the world.' He prayed for ' right judgment in all things ' which alone could bring success ' in an undertaking so new and so peculiar.'

It was no light task which he undertook as organizer of the Scholarship system. The will provided scholarships at Oxford, tenable for three years, for students from the universities and colleges of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Newfoundland, Jamaica, Bermuda and the United States. Students selected for scholarships were to be not ' merely bookworms,' but to be chosen for (1) literary and scholastic attainments, (2) fondness for and success in manly outdoor sports, (3) qualities of manhood, truth, courage, devotion to duty, sympathy for the weak, kindliness, unselfishness, and fellowship, and (4) display of moral force of character, of instincts to lead and of interest in his schoolmates, ' for those latter attributes will be likely in after life to guide him to esteem the

performance of public duties as his highest aim.' Among the reasons given for establishing these scholarships at Oxford for students from the Colonies and the United States of America was the desire to give breadth to the views of ' young Colonists ' and to instil into their minds ' the advantage to the Colonies as well as the United Kingdom of the retention of the unity of the Empire,' to encourage and foster an appreciation of the advantages which he believed would result from the union of the English-speaking peoples throughout the world, and to inspire in the students from the United States ' attachment to the country from which they sprung without withdrawing their sympathies from the land of their birth or adoption.'

Rhodes desired that the first qualification should be determined by examination, the second and third qualifications by ballot by the fellow-students of the candidate, and the fourth by the headmaster of the candidate's school or the principal of his university. In 1901, because ' the German Emperor has made instruction in English compulsory in German schools,' Rhodes provided by a codicil for five scholarships for students of German nationality. ' The object,' it was explained, ' is that an understanding between the three great Powers will render war impossible, and educational relations make the strongest tie.' The Powers he thus sought to bring together in amity and understanding were the British Empire, the United States, and Germany. After August 1914, however, there was no place for German scholars at Oxford, and two years later these scholarships were revoked by Parliament at the request of the Trustees and additional scholarships for colonies or dependencies within the British Empire were substituted. In the will

scholarships were provided for each of the Australian States, for Natal, as well as for four specified schools from Cape Colony, and three annual scholarships for Rhodesia, but for only two of the Provinces of Canada. This error or omission Parkin brought to the attention of the Trustees, with the result that they at once sanctioned a scholarship for each of the Canadian Provinces. Scholarships were later given to the Transvaal, the Orange Free State and Cape Colony. By the will scholarships were appropriated to each State or Territory of the United States, with the provision that they should only elect two scholarships every three years.

The will thus gave 96 scholarships to the United States, and 60 to the British 'colonies.' The increased allowance to Canada raised the number of those for the Dominions to 78. This was increased to 90 by the transference of the German scholarships; further changes in 1921 and 1926 have raised them to 100. There are thus at present 96 scholarships assigned to the United States, 36 to South Africa, 30 to Canada, 18 to Australia, 6 to New Zealand, 3 each to Bermuda, Jamaica, and Newfoundland, and one to Malta.[1]

Since the Jameson Raid, and the South African War, Rhodes' name had been much in the mouths of men for good and ill; and the greatness both of his bequest, and of the conception underlying it, struck the imagination of the world as had no other gift to education in recent times. Parkin's dramatic nature was quick to feel the thrill, and he threw himself into the work with an ever-deepening sense of responsibility. His birth and previous training fitted him for his task, and he did not spare himself. His

[1] Crosby, Aydelotte and Valentine: *Oxford of To-day* (Oxford University Press: second edition, 1928). This excellent little book has been of the greatest value in the preparation of this chapter.

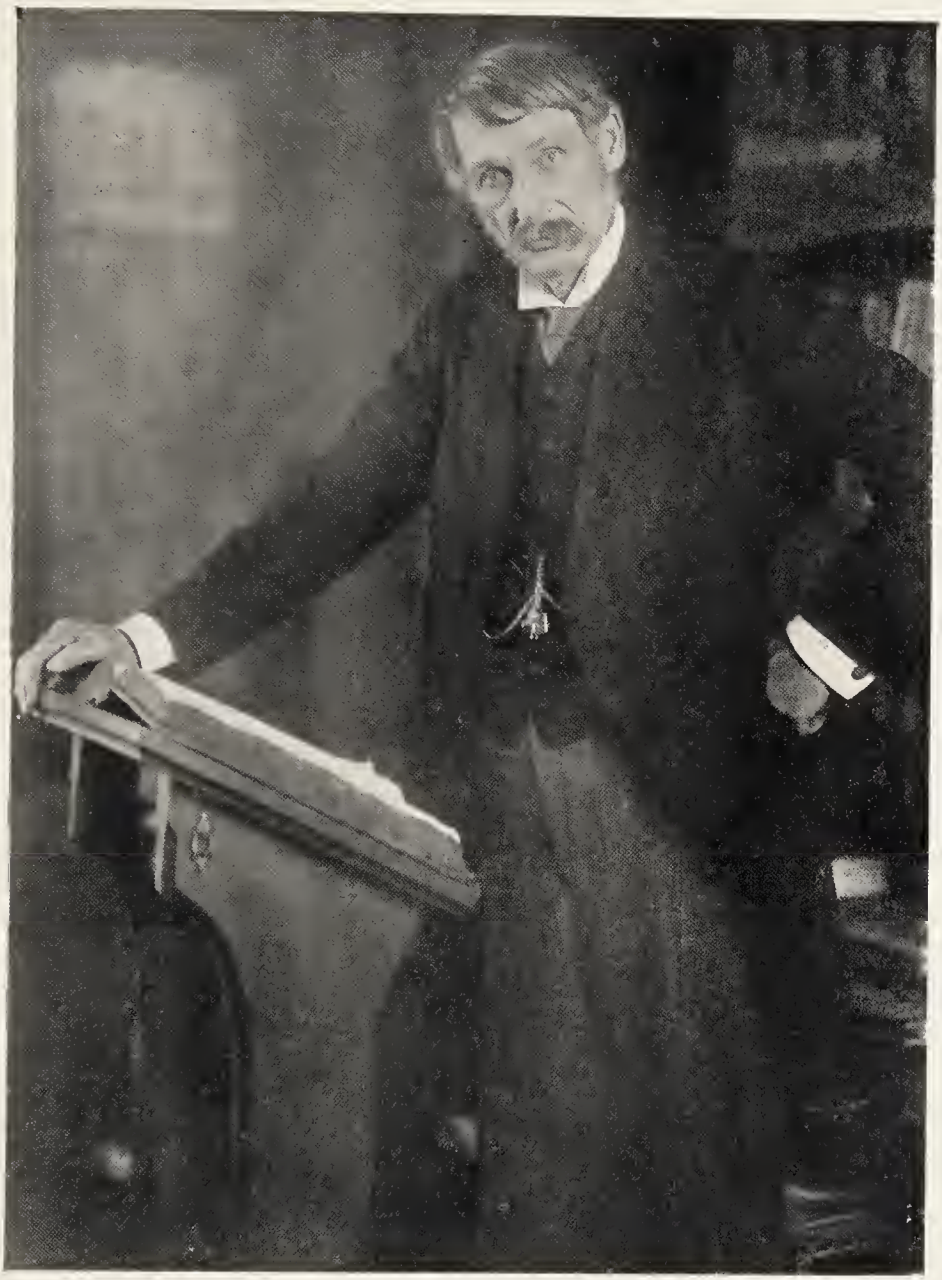
journeys were arduous and extensive, and he showed almost unduly the frugality of his early training, and his desire not to be a burden upon the Trust, by never taking with him either secretary or valet. His letters and speeches were written either in longhand or on a small portable typewriter. At most he would occasionally employ for a day or two a public stenographer, not always over-efficient. These journeys began immediately after he had taken on the work, and to the last he never hesitated to leave his office in London and to start on a journey, no matter how wearisome, and no matter how small or how obscure the educational centre to be visited, if he felt that any difficulties could be solved or simple folk made to understand the ideals of the Rhodes Trust. Everywhere he went he was interested and interesting. There are frequent references throughout his letters to his pleasure in the hospitality he was shown, to the aspirations toward fine things which he found among simple people with inadequate equipment, to his sympathy with and understanding of their problems.

From September to December 1902 he was in Oxford, and was wonderfully successful in smoothing out difficulties in discussion with members of common-rooms which had been kindled by Rhodes' conception, but were in some cases not a little puzzled about how it would work out. Thence he returned to Toronto, and formally severed his connection with Upper Canada College. A short bout followed of an illness, half nervous, half bronchial, which not infrequently attacked him after periods of strain, but in February he was well enough to start upon a tour of the United States, during which he discussed his problems with the heads of many American universities; met the Association of American Universities in New York, the

Association of State Universities in Washington, the Association of Schools and Colleges of New England in Boston, and held regional conferences in Chicago, Atlanta, Kansas City, Spokane, Denver and San Francisco. A brief holiday with his wife in Italy followed, and in May he and she were off round the world. He went first to South Africa, to steep himself in the spirit of the land which had inspired the founder, and from which the resources of the Trust were drawn—to Cape Town, where he stayed at Groote Schuur, with Jameson as host, Pretoria, Bloemfontein, Pietermaritzburg and Rhodesia, where he went by mule cart to Rhodes' tomb in the Matoppos; everywhere meetings great and small, the formation of committees, the rousing of enthusiasm, the solution of difficulties. In August he sailed for New Zealand and Australia, where he had a warm welcome from the heads of the Universities, from State and Federal Governments, and from not a few old friends who had stood at his side in early days in the battle for Imperial unity. Every part of New Zealand was visited; then Australia, whence, after meetings and conferences in every State capital, he sailed from Perth to London. In 1904 he visited Bermuda and the West Indies, Newfoundland and Eastern Canada, and held further conferences up and down the United States with College Presidents and Educational Associations. In these two years he covered over 140,000 miles in every manner of conveyance. From 1905 to 1910 England was his centre, though frequent visits were paid to the United States and Canada. In 1910 he made a second visit to South Africa, visited the Victoria Falls, saw again the mountain top where Rhodes was buried, drank eagerly of all that he could hear of Milner and Grey, and rejoiced in

the fulfilment of Rhodes' vision of a South Africa within the Empire. It was a thrilling visit to his eager imagination. He had sailed from Naples down the East Coast, and was able to contrast the shining but somewhat sterile tidiness of the German colonies with the vivid and vital disorder of those of Great Britain. In South Africa the news of the death of King Edward was followed in the same month by the proclamation of the Union of South Africa; and the widespread mourning over the one and the widespread enthusiasm for the other impressed him deeply. In more than one State of the Union he found difficulties to overcome in the distribution of scholarships and the adaptation of the system to changing conditions, but, conscious that the spirit of Rhodes was at his side, he was sympathetic towards every demand, and assisted by the sagacious counsel of Sir Lewis Michell all grievances were exorcised and the colleges and universities of the Union, even in cases where it was necessary to strain the terms of the will, assured of participation in the advantages of Rhodes' bequests. In 1917-18 his journey through the U.S.A., told of in Chapter XII., had for its purpose not only the war-work therein described, but the investigation of the working of the scholarships, and the drastic revision of the methods of selection.

In organizing the scholarships Parkin encountered problems, perplexities, and difficulties which Rhodes did not foresee and which even the Trustees were perhaps slow to understand. It was not easy to fit New World scholars into the ancient system of Oxford. In neither the United States nor the Dominions was it possible to establish any common system of selection. In many cases selection by the vote of fellow-students was impracticable. In not a few of the American universities the value placed



Camera portrait E. O. Hoppé

c. 1909

upon athletics was out of proportion to that put upon educational qualification. Social and sectional considerations too often affected the selection of scholars alike in the American States and in the Dominions and Colonies. Institutional rivalry and institutional courtesy alike led to errors in the selection. There were even cases in which political influence was exerted to secure the nomination of particular candidates. Throughout the British Dominions, and still more in the United States, where Oxford was little known, it was at first difficult to explain the benefits of the scholarships and of the Oxford system of instruction. In the United States, too, Parkin had to overcome suspicion of Rhodes' motives and fear of the effects of Oxford upon the fibre of American democracy. In this task he was not without help from many Americans. At a luncheon in Washington, when the question was raised whether Rhodes scholars who had spent three years at Oxford would be able afterwards to find any place in American life, it was well said by Mr. Wayne McVeagh, 'If we can every year work into our system 800,000 Italians, Poles, Russians, and groups of other nationalities, we need not feel at all anxious about finding a place for forty-seven anglicized Americans.'

Of his interviews, perhaps the most characteristic were those with Theodore Roosevelt. After his first luncheon with him he writes: 'The President was almost precisely what I expected to find him, breezy, hearty, stimulating, decisive, aggressive in thought, literary and practical—above all, fearless in thought as he has ever proved himself to be in act. One is disposed to waste adjectives to describe his marked individuality.' During the meal he had a striking instance of Roosevelt's methods. There were at the table, in addition to the family and Parkin,

who was sitting next the President, a large group of State Governors, all of them more or less important political supporters of the President. In discussing the question of the composition of the selection committees, Parkin asked Roosevelt if he did not think it would be a good thing to include on the committee such a person as the Governor of the State. Bringing his hand down on the table, Roosevelt said loudly: 'Dr. Parkin, I wouldn't trust one of them—not one of them'; and then, turning to one who sat near by, 'Take my friend . . . here, for instance; if he were on the committee he would be thinking all the time how he could use it for the next election.' He then urged Parkin to put the selection in the hands of the University and College Presidents. Asked if he would favour intervention by the political head of a State in case a scholar was expelled from Oxford or got into serious trouble, the President said, 'Go right on with your discipline, and let the rest go as it may.'

It was necessary also to reconcile Oxford to 'the American invasion,' and to create an atmosphere in which students from abroad could not feel that they were aliens and intruders. Oxford had long been to Parkin not so much a town or an institution as an embodiment and a symbol of all that was best in the British spirit. It was, as he saw it, the great nursery of English statesmen and the central source of Empire. When he looked through the eyes of Rhodes he dreamed of it as the womb of the thousand years of peace for mankind. He sometimes fretted over its disdain for passing things, but he felt its power in its reserve and its greatness even in its conceits and prejudices. In an address on 'Oxford and the Empire' he predicted that the University would become more and more a centre to which the young men of the

outer Empire would come as a place of training for the work they had to do in their respective countries. Oxford had trained and no doubt would continue to train large numbers of the young men of the British Isles who would have a part in the government of the nation. 'Now,' he said, 'there is also brought within her circle an unusual proportion of youth familiar with the conditions and imbued with the spirit of the Colonies, and likely to play a part in their development.' The combination was one of especial significance and might well inspire even Oxford with new hopes and ambitions. There were problems of organization and adaptation, the solution of which would depend largely upon a mutual understanding between the communities interested and clear judgment based on the careful study of facts. 'What circumstance could be more favourable to such an end than that which brings together in each generation the clearer minds of all the countries concerned to spend some years together in intimate intercourse and common study.' The daily interchange of thought and experience would insensibly create the wider outlook, and with minds drawn from all parts of the British world as the material on which to work Oxford might make its influence powerfully felt to the remotest corners of the Empire.

But that there was a many-sided problem to be faced no man knew better. Andrew Carnegie once said to him, 'You will never get the best young Americans to come to Oxford, because what Oxford has to give is not what they are after.' Asked what that was, Carnegie declared with emphasis, 'Dollars.' This judgment Parkin refused to accept. He thought that it was 'rather a reflection of Mr. Carnegie's own attitude towards life.' In support, however, of this view of Carnegie's he recalled

the statement of a professor in one of the chief universities of the Middle West. 'We have here,' he said, 'six or seven thousand students, ninety-five per cent. of whom think of and value this university only as it contributes to their wage-earning capacity.' More and more, however, as Parkin came to have fuller knowledge of American colleges and universities, he rejected this judgment as he believed would 'most thoughtful Americans familiar with the prevalent idealism of their younger compatriots.' He relates that at a meeting held in 'an aristocratic drawing-room of Philadelphia,' in the early years of his service as organizer of the scholarships, 'a distinguished American thinker and writer, known wherever the English language is spoken, entered a vehement protest against the desecration of Oxford by an irruption of young barbarians from Kalamazoo and Wallamaroo, from Auckland, Arizona, and Africa, not even forgetting the descendants of those Teutonic tribes of whose barbaric virtues Tacitus gives such a glowing account.' In a flame of wrath Parkin turned upon and smote the pessimist mightily, although the defence possibly was as extreme as the attack. 'It will be easily understood,' he wrote, 'that with the different ideas I had of what the scholarships mean, the distinguished literary American had a bad quarter of an hour as I unfolded parallel cases from history; how the effete civilization of Rome had been swept away by hordes of Goths and Vandals to make room for something better—how even his own America was being regenerated (or swamped) by Italians, Greeks, and Slavs coming in millions.'[1] When Parkin was asked at a

[1] The incident was really more piquant than his own account of it. As he told glowingly of what the great conception of Rhodes would do for America and for the world, a heavily-built man, whose name he had not caught, magisterially took him up in the way in which he tells. After the eventual discom-

convention of college and university presidents at Chicago what type of young American he most wished to have at Oxford, he suggested that if they would send from each State the student who would most likely become President of the United States, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, American Ambassador to Great Britain, Oxford and the Rhodes Trustees would be satisfied. He explained that when he was at Oxford there was a small group of men of twenty-two or twenty-three years of age on whom University opinion had fixed as certain to occupy the highest positions in the State and that during forty years the expectation had been amply fulfilled. He admitted, however, that there were no such opportunities in American as in English universities to form such judgments because of a less adequate system of competitive tests and a less intimate relation between teachers and students. He doubted, too, and perhaps he doubted to the end, 'whether the men who promise to achieve great things in American life are likely to apply for the Rhodes Scholarships.'

He was never fully satisfied with the students sent from the United States to Oxford under the Rhodes bequest. In a contribution to the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1919, after fourteen years' experience as organizer and administrator of the Trust, he declared that of two thousand American candidates one-half failed to pass an easy entrance examination equivalent to Responsions at Oxford. He put the blame chiefly upon preparatory and secondary teaching in American schools. He said: 'Of all the men sent from America not more than one-third were, in ability and

fiture of the unbeliever, Parkin was astounded to find that this was none other than Henry James, and that all present were greatly delighted that James, sometimes a little inclined to play the autocrat of the tea-table, had found more than his match.

preparation, in a position to compete with the best-trained men from English public schools; others had the ability without the necessary preparation; while a further considerable group fell distinctly below anything that could be considered a good scholarship standard at the University, while not strikingly superior in the other qualities to which Mr. Rhodes attached importance.'

In many American educational institutions emphasis was laid, not upon the distinction of winning a scholarship, but upon its money value in helping a struggling student through his course. The result was that scholarships were at times regarded mainly as a charity and the sons of people in comfortable circumstances did not apply, though many came from homes of culture, sons of clergymen, of teachers, and of like professions. Moreover, America offered unusual opportunities to men of exceptional force and ability; such men were early in demand by the great railway systems and the great manufacturing, commercial, and financial organizations and a high price was paid for their services. Again, in the United States there was nothing corresponding to the great public schools of England or even those of South Africa which could be depended upon to turn out a large proportion of men aiming at public life and likely to influence public opinion. Such men were rather to be found in the presidents and professors of American universities. In support of this view Parkin mentioned Eliot, Lowell, Van Hise, Hadley, Hibben, Schurman, and Butler, all university presidents, and 'in their own localities, or even throughout the whole nation, among the most trusted guides of public opinion.' He held, therefore, that Rhodes' object would best be attained if they could secure as scholars from the United States men aiming at high

academic positions. These men would influence the teaching of the universities and become 'the creative centre for a more enlightened public opinion in America.' He argued that in the selection of American scholars more weight should be given to tests of mental ability and less to superiority in athletics.

'The highly specialized form which athletics have taken in the university life of America,' he said, 'lessens their value when applied to that country. President Lowell of Harvard said to me that in his opinion success in American athletics was almost a disqualification for a Rhodes Scholarship. President Falconer of Toronto University, in discussing the matter, directed attention to the fact that the combination of athletic success and intellectual power was by no means common among men conspicuous in public life, either in Britain, America, or the Colonies. The sound physique and personal vigour which Mr. Rhodes rightly had in view, as well as the self-control, the spirit of fair play, and the power of managing others acquired in the sports of English public schools and universities are often gained by American students in other and more practical fields—in adventurous exploration—in vacations spent on lake or river—on railway or forest surveys—on farm or ranch—in many other employments or relaxations incident to the varied life of a vast continent. Full allowance for this difference must be made in applying the ideas of Mr. Rhodes to the selection of his scholars.'

It was found, too, that in the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, and later in South Africa also, it was necessary to confine the scholarships to men who had had at least two years of university training. All these countries had universities which satisfied the

ambitions of students up to the period of graduation, while the United States had also developed post-graduate schools whose higher degrees ranked with any distinction that could be conferred by Old World institutions. This tended to narrow the competition for Rhodes Scholarships to those who desired to continue their education in other countries, to devote themselves to special courses, and to obtain a wide range of knowledge and experience. Many times Parkin pointed out that Rhodes was familiar only with educational conditions in Great Britain and South Africa, that the provisions of his will were adapted only to England, Africa, the West Indies, Bermuda, and possibly Newfoundland, and that with the increasing equipment, efficiency and prestige of the University at Cape Town there would be even in South Africa greater reluctance to have undergraduates go elsewhere.

A negro among the Rhodes scholars from the United States created embarrassment for Parkin and the Trustees, and a vigorous protest against his appointment was made by the other American scholars. The selection of the State Committee was confirmed by the Trustees, in view of the clause in the will which stated that 'no student shall be qualified or disqualified for election on account of his race or religious opinions.' At Oxford no serious friction was produced save among the Americans, but though the negro scholar has done well in after life the experiment has not been repeated. 'Equal Rights for all civilized men south of the Zambesi,' had been Rhodes' solution for the race and colour problem of South Africa. So cry the Gods from the high hills where Justice has its sanctuaries, but nowhere under the rule of white men has there been full social or political acceptance of the teaching.

Parkin's views of Rhodes' great experiment, and on the problems which it presented, were expressed in his book on *The Rhodes Scholarships*, published in 1912,[1] though, as always with him, he was careful to make the written word more moderate than the spoken. In it are found a short biography of Rhodes and chapters discussing the will and the various issues involved. Two on 'The University System,' and 'The Social Side of Oxford Life,' were written by Mr. F. J. Wylie, his coadjutor at Oxford, and are now in part obsolete. As in his *Life of Sir John Macdonald*, he makes no attempt at original research; there are no revelations; but the story of Rhodes' life, and of the great idea which ennobled it, is told clearly and in excellent perspective, and the problems raised by the will are discussed with knowledge and sympathy, in a spirit of sane optimism and enlightened common sense.

Parkin was often asked if the hopes and ideals of Rhodes were justified by results. He admitted that it was a hard question to answer and suggested that perhaps no adequate answer could be given for a generation. At Oxford, he believed, results had justified the scholarships, but there were 'many disappointments.' Oxford with its modest college scholarships expected much of a student who had won a prize of £300[2] in a competition which embraced a State or a Province. 'There was another reason for high expectation. Much has been said during late years of how Anglo-Saxon energy, physical and mental, was renewing itself in the wide breathing-places of a new Continent. So the scholarships were expected to reflect back upon England all this new-born

[1] London: Constable & Co.; Boston: Houghton, Mifflin.

[2] The Scholarships have increased in value, and now give the recipient £400 a year for three years.

energy or superiority. England had felt a good deal of it even before the scholarships were founded, when cricket and football teams, champion runners, tennis players, and other devotees of sport visited this country and carried away many of its prizes.' Like results, he suggested, were expected in the intellectual competitions of Oxford. But the qualifying conditions were overlooked. In the outside communities from which scholars were drawn there was no such thorough training as the preparatory and public schools of England provided, and thus only the very exceptional student from the United States or the Dominions could hope to overcome the handicap. At times, too, Parkin wondered if enough trouble was taken to discover whether or not there was any basis of sympathy with the ideal of Rhodes in the minds of those selected to enjoy his benefactions. He feared that without such sympathy complete success could not be obtained. Most of the scholars, he pointed out, were drawn from remote communities where Rhodes was a name or only a legend and where the influences which moulded his life were comparatively unknown and his aspirations but dimly understood.

Though the first generation of Rhodes scholars is still young, and though dogmatism would be premature, statistics compiled since Parkin's death go far to show that the foundations have been well and truly laid, and that he builded on them better than he knew. Many of the early scholars are becoming men of distinction, and all realize their debt to Parkin and to Oxford. Especially in the higher education of Canada and of the United States they have had a wide influence, and are partly at least responsible for new tendencies along British lines. If there were mistakes, they are far outweighed by the successes. His

early building had perforce been hasty. He had not been appointed till August 1902, and the first scholars reached Oxford in the autumn of 1904. Changes which were made toward the end of his regime, and since his death, have improved the number and the quality of the candidates, especially in the United States. In the early days it may have been necessary to lay down as a qualification that candidates should have passed the Oxford examination known as Responsions. But the modicum of Greek demanded by this examination led to widespread misunderstanding, especially in the United States, where it was interpreted to mean that the scholarships were for classical students only. Parkin's own scholastic enthusiasms were so strongly classical that he long resisted the proposal to do away with this qualifying examination, but at last he yielded, and the results have shown that he was right to do so. The local committees have seen to it that no weakening of intellectual ability resulted. The number and quality of the candidates has steadily increased. A careful examination of the records at Oxford of the scholars for the first twenty-one years, made by Mr. Wylie, shows that the results attained by them in the Oxford Honour schools are not only much better than those of the ordinary undergraduate, but also that, although the committees of selection follow the wish of Rhodes in utterly repudiating the idea that scholarships should be awarded on intellectual grounds alone, those from New Zealand and Australia do better than the scholars and exhibitioners drawn from the English schools, and that for those from the other Dominions and the United States the difference is less than is often stated, and is gradually lessening.[1]

[1] Crosby, Aydelotte and Valentine : *op. cit.*

In the United States and only to a lesser degree in the Dominions it was necessary as the result of actual and often annoying experience to reject the methods of selection first adopted, to curb the general disposition to award scholarships in turn to competing universities, to abandon systems of rotation, and to eliminate official, sectional and political influences. Changes, adumbrated and in part carried out by Parkin, have placed the selection mainly in the hands of ex-Rhodes scholars, and have worked for the steady improvement of the type of scholar selected. It was not easy, as has been said, to reconcile certain elements in the Oxford colleges to the admission of the scholars, and for a time Oxford was exclusive though not inhospitable. Too many of the American scholars were slow to catch the spirit of the English University; there was both a freedom and a discipline which they were slow to understand. Thus there were differences of ideal and of outlook not easily reconciled; but these untoward conditions were almost wholly overcome by the tact, patience and wisdom of Parkin and his associates, and there was a gradual realization within Oxford itself, stimulated by the comradeship of the Great War, of the international value of the scholarships, and of the peculiar advantages which Oxford derived by direct contact with the overseas English-speaking nations. At length a mellower tone pervaded American criticism of Rhodes' great experiment, and Americans, still to a degree a separate but no longer an exclusive element at Oxford, realized ever more and more the inestimable value of the privilege of residence at the University, of association with teachers of great gifts and profound learning, and of contact with institutions rooted in the far past, rich in tradition and achievement, and forever bringing forth

treasures new and old for the passing generations. All this was expressed in the idealism of Parkin, whose hand was always upon the scholar from the United States, the Dominions and the Colonies, and whose example and inspiration for a score of years kept Rhodes' spirit alive and made possible at least a partial harvest from the seeds which he had sown with so great faith in Oxford and so great desire for the welfare of mankind.

This chapter would be incomplete if space were not taken for Parkin's estimate of three of the Rhodes Trustees who were peculiarly his friends and counsellors. Mr. Bourchier F. Hawksley died in 1915 and Lord Grey and Sir Starr Jameson two years later. Of Grey, Parkin said in an address to Rhodes scholars :

'Every man who has held a Rhodes Scholarship—every man who in coming years may hold one—should know something of the two members of that group of friends entrusted by Rhodes to carry out his ideas, who have been removed from the activities of this life during the past year. Worked out on widely different lines but with the same underlying spirit the careers of these two men, both profoundly influenced by the character and thought of Cecil Rhodes, can give our past or prospective scholars some of the finest inspirations that life can have.

Both in their time filled a considerable place on the world's stage, but they filled a far larger place in the affection of their friends. Both were known to their friends and to each other as impulsive men, but no one who knew them well ever doubted the generosity and unselfishness of their impulses, even when they made mistakes and paid dearly for them. Both had won from the experience of life a rare capacity—that of being able to "walk with kings, nor lose the common touch." But they reached their goal by very different paths. Earl Grey, born and brought up in a royal palace (his father was long the trusted private secretary of Queen Victoria), devoted the main thought and work of his life to things that concerned the common people. A universal favourite in the best society of the England of his time—fond of that society and enjoying its pleasures heartily—with every door open to him—his real interest still centred in questions of social improvement and political reform. To give better housing to the poor—to secure

for them better education—to relieve the congestion of great cities by creating garden suburbs—to wrestle with the evils of intemperance through the Public House Trust—to establish co-operation between employer and employed—to secure the fullest expression of the popular will through Proportional Representation—to open the door of opportunity offered in the Colonies to every struggling workman in the Motherland—such was the class of subject that fired his imagination and evoked the support of his unquenchable enthusiasm. As a member of the House of Commons in his earlier days—as Administrator of Rhodesia—as Governor-General of Canada—as President of the Royal Colonial Institute—in public and in private—his interest in such questions never flagged. "No more beautiful or lovable character has adorned our generation" is the tribute paid to his memory by Lord Bryce—a tribute that will be re-echoed from the heart of everyone who ever knew him intimately. It will add to the fame of Cecil Rhodes and perhaps make him better understood when it is generally known how fully he commanded the admiration, respect, and affection of such a man as Lord Grey. I have heard him say that whenever in public life he had to decide a difficult or doubtful question his first thought was to ask himself "How would Rhodes have looked at it?" No higher compliment has ever been paid to our founder. I could wish that every Rhodes scholar should have in his library a small volume, the substance of which was dictated by Lord Grey from his deathbed as a message to his friends and countrymen, and published as *A Last Word* by Hodder and Stoughton. If the reading of it does not make him a better man and better citizen, then he has not caught the spirit which Rhodes wished to find in his men.'

Of Sir Starr Jameson he said :

'Once famous or notorious as "Dr. Jim" of the "South African Raid," I must speak of him more briefly, and can afford to do so. Instead of discussing his career I shall ask every scholar to buy a copy of Kipling's poem, *If*; place it where he can read it morning and night; and remember as he reads that its suggestion and inspiration came from the career of Sir Starr Jameson. Better still (it occurs to me as I write), I shall ask the editor of the *Oxonian* to enclose a copy of the poem in each number of the next issue of the *Oxonian* and beg each scholar to accept it from me as a joint message to him from the life of Jameson and from the poet of the British Commonwealth, now one of our Trustees. A sentence may be given to the life itself in barest outline. A Scottish medical student; a successful surgeon at Kimberley in South Africa, whither he had gone like Rhodes to safeguard a weak constitution;

inspired by Rhodes' plans to redeem Africa for civilization, an adventurer whose feats rivalled those of the Elizabethans; a daring leader in warfare with savages; in the conflict of passions which rent South Africa guilty of an error which wrecked, in appearance hopelessly, his own career and that of Rhodes; condemned to death by the Boer Government; reprieved but sentenced to imprisonment by a British court; then years of patient endurance and determination to redeem his fault, ending in his becoming Prime Minister of Cape Colony; as friend and colleague of the Boer leader, General Louis Botha, foremost in working out the Union of South Africa; Chairman of the British South Africa Company, to which is entrusted the development of Rhodesia; knighted by the King; honoured alike in South Africa and his native land;—a career which covers ground such as this seems like the creation of romance. As with Rhodes, so with Lord Grey and Sir Starr Jameson, the laurel bestowed for public service would have seemed the crown of life's achievement. Let us lay it gratefully and reverently upon their graves.'

Of Hawksley he spoke as follows:

'All Rhodes scholars ought to understand what a loss the Trust has suffered through the untimely death of Mr. Hawksley, and how strong a claim he has on their grateful recollection. It was he who, under the direction of Mr. Rhodes, drew up the famous will in all its details, and in doing this necessarily became familiar with the most intimate thought of the testator in regard to its conditions and intentions. He was therefore singularly qualified to become its interpreter when the time came to give its provisions effect.

He was not only the legal adviser of Mr. Rhodes, but his devoted friend, inspired by his ideals and eager for their complete realization. From the moment that I undertook the organization of the Scholarship system in the widely scattered communities to which it was to be applied I found that I could always rely upon him to any extent for assistance and advice. For several years he was my chief channel of communication with the Trust during the long journeys entailed by the work of organization. Amidst all the pressure of a great legal business in which vast interests depended on his judgment and oversight, he found time to correspond at length upon all the difficulties that arose, and he made himself familiar in a way that surprised me with the educational and other conditions of the countries from which our scholars are drawn.

When all the necessary material had been collected he took infinite trouble to make sure that our conclusions should be wise and expressed in the best possible form. Many a time, after a severe

day's work in the City, he has come to discuss with me far into the night the minutest details of all that was likely to make our system most fully realize the dreams that filled the mind of Rhodes. I have never known a man who spared himself so little in the service of a friend or of a cause in which he believed.

He had his reward in the devoted affection of a wide circle of friends, and the absolute trust of those with whom he had public or private relations. The fact that two men of great wealth, Cecil Rhodes and Alfred Beit, each made him a Trustee for the administration of several millions of money left for philanthropic purposes is an almost unique proof of the confidence inspired by his character. How loyally he acquitted himself of those great Trusts only those who co-operated with him can ever fully know. His influence upon the Scholarship system will be felt as long as the Rhodes Trust endures.'

When Parkin resigned in 1920 his work was summed up in the *American Oxonian* for October 1920 by Mr. Frank Aydelotte, Rhodes Secretary for the United States, and Mr. F. J. Wylie, for many years his associate at Oxford. In both of these colleagues he was singularly fortunate, and he was ever generous and whole-hearted in praise of their zeal and efficiency. Mr. Aydelotte suggested that the aspect of Parkin's work which most people would feel most strongly was ' his constant desire to humanise the process of selecting Rhodes scholars.' It was necessary to organize hundreds of committees and to adopt uniform methods, but Parkin was always jealous lest the selection of the scholars should become a mechanical routine. He was always eager to keep it a human and personal problem. ' It is a great tribute to his own humanity and to his ability and knowledge that he succeeded so well in this task.' Mr. Aydelotte continued :

' It is usually the fate of a man whose task is building up a great national, or, as in this case, an international organization, that he has little time or opportunity for

personal contacts and little realization of the personal problems involved in carrying out his plans. The remarkable thing about Sir George Parkin was that in his case this was never true. He has a vast acquaintance with educational men throughout the world, and if one may judge by the United States, this is a personal quite as much as an official acquaintance. He has never been too busy to interest himself in the individual Rhodes scholars of each generation and in their wives and children. He has perhaps seen less of the men of the last few classes, but the great majority of the Rhodes scholars in all parts of the world will feel a sense of personal loss at Sir George's retirement, and will hope that he may still have many years of happy and useful activity.'

Mr. Wylie, for sixteen years closer to Parkin than anyone else in the development and administration of the Scholarship system, said; 'The Rhodes idea will go on making its own history, and will raise up new organs of its will. But there will always have been only one Dr. Parkin. He brooded over the beginnings of the Scholarship system; it was his thought that brought it form. No other man has given so much of himself to its growth, or made so much of its meaning his own. He has been *par excellence* the prophet of its purposes. I used to think that a prophet must be someone above human nature, or outside it. I now know that he is only more a man, or a more real man than the rest of us. Dr. Parkin has taught me that, along with other things. To work with him, or under him, has been an honour and a delight. I am not going to say that we always got through our work in the shortest possible time. That is not what prophets are there for. But what is expedition alongside of insight?'

Mr. Wylie recalled that someone had said that if you met Arnold Toynbee on the street you would go home and work harder than you otherwise would have done. In a different way this was true of Parkin. ' If you have been with him your work seems a bigger thing afterwards than before.' You would perhaps forget what he said, Mr. Wylie added, ' but somehow you and your work would mean more. And with it all he never treated you as a means merely, an instrument. You were still always a man before whom he laid the wealth of his sympathy and his patience.'

This personal touch, this kindling of souls by soul, this resolve that neither in its methods of selection nor of supervision should the Scholarship system become a mechanism was of the essence of Parkin's work. Many a Rhodes scholar recalls among his most vivid impressions not his rooms in Oxford, not his lectures or the river or the playing-fields, but his visits to Goring, the walks in the garden with Parkin and his collie, the tea under the great walnut-tree, the friendliness and the inspiration which he gave so lavishly yet with so little effort, and which so completely bridged the years. In all his dealings with the scholars, with his colleagues and with the Trustees, he ever showed, not only in word but in deed, that he regarded the gift of Rhodes as having established not a foundation but a Trust, which it was his highest duty to humanize and to keep human. The extent to which he accomplished this is shown in the words of such colleagues as Aydelotte and Wylie, and is the measure of his success.

CHAPTER XII

BRITAIN AND AMERICA

In 1917 and 1918 Parkin spent many months in Canada and the United States, and delivered innumerable addresses. Though he was over seventy years of age, his natural force and fire were not abated, and never had he been more vigorous or more impressive. The United States had entered the war after long delay but with amazing energy and resolute purpose. An important object of British policy was to hold the goodwill of the American people, and therefore continuous and organized effort was made to prevent misunderstanding of British motives, to expose German misrepresentation, and to baffle German intrigue. In the *Life of John Hay*, by William Roscoe Thayer, there is startling evidence of long, insidious, and persistent endeavour by German agents to establish the Fatherland as a favoured nation in the United States and to organize German-Americans as a separate element among the American people in support of the ambitions and policies of the then German Government. This long process of stimulation and education had to be counteracted when the Great War broke upon Europe if American neutrality was to be maintained, the free movement of British vessels upon the seas to be unembarrassed, and the manufacture and shipment of munitions and supplies for the Allied nations to be unrestricted.

Among the most distinguished of those who came from Great Britain to explain the British position and cultivate the goodwill of the American people were Sir F. E. Smith, now Lord Birkenhead ; the Archbishop of York, and Sir George Adam Smith. Another was Lord Northcliffe, who then controlled *The Times*, and had made that great journal, so implacably hostile to the North during the Civil War of the 'sixties, an assiduous agency for the promotion of goodwill between the two branches of the English-speaking family. There were others, too, of whom less was heard, but who perhaps were not less effective in reaching and directing influences in natural sympathy with the Allies and in strengthening that great body of American opinion of which Roosevelt and Root and Taft were the most powerful exponents. In all this effort by Great Britain there was frank and open dealing with the American people. There was no intrigue nor any deliberate attempt to fashion American opinion to the purposes of the Allied nations. That any such attempt would have defeated its purpose was shown clearly in the final results of inept and audacious German activity in America. There was no other aim or desire than to make plain the position of Great Britain and to furnish the facts necessary to a clear and sound judgment upon the causes of the war and the motives behind British policy and action.

As administrator of the Rhodes Trust, Parkin was in a position of peculiar advantage to reach and influence American opinion. Not only had he an official relation with all the important American universities, but he was also in constant demand as a speaker at university functions and before Boards of Trade and national and international organizations. Throughout the first years of the war he

was singularly discreet and scrupulous. He guarded his tongue in all his public utterances and even in his frequent interviews with American newspapers. Passionate as was his devotion to the cause of the Allies, he refused to take any advantage of official connections for purposes of propaganda. Even after the United States entered the war he was characteristically robust and downright in dealing with Americans and American institutions. He had admiration and respect for the American people, but there were things in the United States that he would not praise, claims that he would not admit, and conceits that he would puncture. In the second year of the war he was deeply exasperated and grieved by a letter from Benjamin Ide Wheeler, then President of the University of California. Mr. Wheeler, like Dr. Jordan, President of Leland Stanford University, was a militant pacifist, who at first could find no justification for the decision of Great Britain to join Belgium and France against Germany and stood out to the last against American participation in the conflict. They believed that the war was the result of unhappy and unhallowed rivalries in Europe, refused to distinguish between the motives of the combatants, and held all the nations concerned to a guilty and common responsibility. Both Mr. Wheeler and Dr. Jordan repented or at least kept silence after the United States had actually entered the war, but they were signally influential among those who made division among the American people and caused indecision and delay at Washington. In his letter to Parkin (September 24th, 1915), Mr. Wheeler said :

' It wrenches my heart to hear how our learning's cause is falling into decay and disuse. I am very pessimistic in my feeling just at present. After Europe has bankrupted itself with war, how are we

to expect our doctrine of minimal gains and differentiations by education to establish itself again. Europe in the seventeenth century had the schools of the prophets and monks to fall back upon. I cannot help thinking that the leaders of the English people overestimate what they call the peril to their liberties. I do not think the liberties of England are menaced, but I know I shall not succeed at all in trying to preach this to Englishmen. They are in the war; they mean to stay in it; they evidently mean to imperil their highest goods. I think it is a fearful and colossal mistake. I deplore just as much the attitude of Germany and the false voices which have rung out from that side. I want men to see again eye to eye. They misrepresent each other, as things are now. The war can cease only when men have returned to reason and moderation. Must that come only after a terrible enfeeblement of all Europe—an enfeeblement which the Orient will occupy for its own advantage? I think England and Germany could to-day agree upon a settlement of Central European matters in such a way that really advantage to all parties and to the world would arise from the war. This advantage will not come, however, by seeking to crush out nationalities or any existing people. They all have a right to live. I only wish England would join with Germany in erecting into full existence the promising nationalities which run across the map from north to south; Finland, Courland, Lettland, Poland, Ruthenia, Armenia. The apportionment of territory among the Balkan states was almost reaching a balance. It was the petty clippings which threw Europe into war, through lack of diplomatic steadfastness and patience. I am looking forward to a re-establishment of many nationalities, a re-affirming of the lesser nationalities already in existence, an opening up of free markets throughout the world on the basis of the open door, and a full establishment of the freedom of the seas. The peoples of the earth can reach forward toward such a solution now, without waiting until they have worn themselves to distress and ruin. It is the pride of nations, not the peril of nations, that constitutes the helplessness and hopelessness of the present situation.

To Parkin with his greater knowledge and robust spirit there was something pitiful in Mr. Wheeler's faith and a profound ignorance behind his argument. In his reply he shows characteristic vigour and a temper such as he seldom displayed. He wrote (October 27th, 1915):

'We have much to think about and much to do. My own lad was invalided home from the Dardanelles about the time your letter

came. He was one of the few officers of his battalion left unhurt when illness overcame him. After some time in hospital he is now regaining his strength rapidly and hopes to be ready for duty again in a month. My four sons-in-law also all hold commissions. Something of the same kind is true of practically every family that has sons to spare in this country. And they are few indeed who would have it otherwise.

You will not expect me to sympathize with your attitude of mind in looking upon our own country and Germany as equally blameworthy in this war. It is a comfort to me to know that in my pretty wide acquaintance among University men in America, and especially the biggest ones, you stand almost alone in this opinion. The strongest statements of our case that I have yet seen have come from America, from University Presidents, lawyers, Ambassadors and others. The weightiest papers speak out as strongly or even more so than our own. I confess that it has troubled me greatly and perplexed me as well to account for your view.

You speak of our "fearful and colossal mistake." Suppose we had not taken the course we did, what would be the state of things? France crushed to powder; Belgium's brutal ruin made hopelessly permanent; the sacredness of treaties gone for ever; your own country, as well as ours, arming to the teeth to meet the next stage of aggression, and as for us English, our name ten times more deeply dishonoured than your friend Mr. Roosevelt thinks your own country's name was lowered by the absence of any protest against the Belgian barbarities, the defiance of International covenants and the threat to the civilization that is based on them. No, my good friend, you will see some day that your mind in some way has got on the wrong track. No man true to the spirit of democracy can side with Germany to-day unless under some extraordinary confusion of thought. From all our great Colonies, to which we have given the same free government that we English and you Americans enjoy, men and money are pouring in to us without stint and without hesitation. They come absolutely unasked from people perfectly free to do as they pleased, but who believe that the Cause is a sacred one which concerns all humanity. Last night I had a friend dining with me at the Athenæum who gave me a report about things as they are in your own country. Never was so much money being made—never so much luxury—never such an inflow of wealth from every part of the world. You will come out of it stupendously rich, with prodigious industrial and commercial advantages. We shall be exhausted, shattered, and the saddest generation that England has known, or indeed the world. But we shall have more of the glory of life from having stood as we did in

the days of the Armada—in the days of Napoleon—for the freedom of mankind from the insolent tyranny of force. We shall have a regenerated and an ennobled Europe when all is over, with room for free men to live and breathe. Just at the present moment here in England thoughtful men who take the long view have a heavy task put upon them. The midnight bombs to which we are getting accustomed in London; the sinking of passenger ships; Belgian and French atrocities; Armenian massacres directly approved in Germany; and the death of our English nurse in Brussels, are creating among the masses a demand for reprisals in kind, a sinking to the German level as the only way to combat German methods. We are fighting hard against it, and I think we shall prevail. Still, you can understand that in this crowded city with its seven millions of people and where every bomb that falls is sure to hit somebody, it takes a deal of patience to endure this without answer.

Forgive me if I have seemed too vehement or dogmatic, but we know here what we are fighting for, and what we are fighting against, and it would be utter weakness to leave you to suppose that all these terrible sacrifices we are making find their impulse in unworthy purposes. We have not had a strong government, we have been hampered, as you were in the great Civil War, by party politics; we were utterly unprepared, except at sea, and it has taken our democracy a long time to wake up, but it is awake now, and I believe that it will win out now as in the past, and, as I said before, it is a real consolation to know that the greatest offshoot of the race is on the whole with us, and that we have the unqualified and unhesitating support of the younger nations that we have founded.'

In a letter to his friend C. F. Thwing, President of Western Reserve University at Cleveland, Parkin said: 'With all our suffering, and few British homes are escaping it just now, one can say that we do not envy you your isolation, rather indeed are we sorry for your own sakes that in the greatest fight for democracy that has yet occurred in the world the greatest democracy of all can take no part. We feel confident that we shall win, and I only wish that your country were in a position to take a part in the great settlement that must follow. As things stand that will be very difficult. Living as you do near Canada you will understand the wonderful thrill that is

running through our British Empire and which will leave us a greater people with wider influence in the world than ever we have had before. We are thinking a great deal here about the problems of the future, and I am pretty confident that the whole temper of the nation is being lifted to a higher level.'

Parkin never would admit that the United States was peculiarly the mother of freedom, or that there was a truer democracy in America than in England. One of the most striking and impressive of all his addresses was made in 1917 before the Board of Commerce of Chicago. His subject was 'Anglo-American Relations after the War.' It was described in the *Journal of the Board of Commerce* as 'a Briton's message to a great ally in the war against Prussianism for Liberty and Democracy.' Parkin pointed out that while it took the United States three years to make up its mind whether or not it should take part in the great conflict to maintain free institutions, it took Great Britain and the British Dominions only three days to reach a decision. He admitted that the delay was due chiefly to the traditional policy of the United States which forbade entangling alliances in Europe. The British people, however, had planted themselves in all the gateways of the world and could not if they would adopt a policy of isolation :

'It is now known,' he said, 'and it is admitted by everybody who understands the circumstances, that had Belgium not made up its mind within three days, and had England not made up its mind within three days, and had it not been for the resistance which Belgium made, and the immediate action of England, throwing her army into the fields of France, the battle of the Marne could not have been fought, the tide of German invasion could

not have been stemmed. Paris would have been occupied; the Channel would have been commanded; the resources of France would have been in the hands of Germany; and the whole world would have stood in an absolutely different position at this moment, and no other country would have had more at stake in the issue than America itself.'

If the British had not been able to command the seas it was easy to understand what would have happened to American commerce and the Monroe doctrine. 'The whole issue was concentrated upon the fact that the British Empire, France, Belgium and Russia' were able to act instantly against the aggressor. When the war was over the world would have to face the greatest problems in human history. The nations of Europe would come out of the war tremendously handicapped in grappling with the problems of the future. 'I do not hesitate to say that no factor is going to count so much as the question of whether America, this great democracy of America, is going to be as ready, willing and prepared, in grappling with those great problems, to give us her full assistance, her heartfelt assistance in dealing with them, as she has been so far.' The momentous question was whether the United States would act immediately when the war was over or whether there would be such hesitation and delay as occurred before America entered the conflict.

What had caused the hesitation of America? First, no doubt, was the principle of isolation which had been stamped upon its public policy. The Americans entered the war with the slogan of democracy. But England did not claim to be fighting for democracy, but for national honour, because the British people were bound by treaty to support Belgium.

'But gradually, as the war went on, we, too, came to recognize that there was a deeper thing even than national honour. Let me say—and I want to speak with the utmost frankness, for I believe that frankness is a thing that you like here in this country better than anything else—that it sometimes caused us a great deal of wonder in England, to understand why America hesitated as long as she did. In our dealings in the British Empire with American people in the past, we have found you a very sensitive people—very sensitive indeed. If a trader was interfered with, if a letter was stopped on the road, or if the censor exercised any power of control, there was instant recognition of the wrong that was being done to some American citizen. But when one hundred American citizens—men, women and children—were drowned in the *Lusitania*, and when the hearts of American citizens in every part of the world were stirred to anger by the attack that was made upon them by German power, when your ships were ordered to just take one route, and you were told that only one ship a week would be allowed to cross the ocean and that ship would have to be painted like a barber's pole, we in England were simply amazed to find that this sensitive nation, that had always been so sensitive about the personal welfare of every one of its individuals, stood the strain as long as it did.'

It was asked when the war began, 'How can the American democracy fight in behalf of Russia?' There was force in that argument, but 'events have swept away that objection and we see that the war is reaching out toward the greatest development of democracy that has ever been known in the world,' which when it had found its footing and reached its ideal would be as effective and powerful a force in the world as the French Revolution

was for French democracy. Americans, he said, were taught in their school-books that England was a tyrant country. But why go back 125 years for an episode in history which the British people now regretted and which so many contemporary British statesmen opposed? 'If America had remained in the same friendly relation with Great Britain that Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand have to-day we would not have had this war.'

'You would have had an influence that would have been of enormous good to both sides. We in England would have the liberalizing tendency of this vast democracy growing up here, and you in this country would have had the advantage of some of those great traditions, by which liberty has broadened down from precedent to precedent in England, and which have been one of the greatest bulwarks of liberty in every part of the world. Ever since the time of the American Revolution, Britain has been standing, more than any other nation in the world, in the active defence of liberty. Fifty years, almost, after you revolted, we undertook to sweep slavery off our slate. We were more anxious about personal liberty, perhaps, than we were about political liberty. But what was the result? It cost us thirty million pounds, one hundred and fifty millions of dollars, but, as far as I know, not a single life. You delayed that prospect of personal liberty. From 1830 a slave could not live on British soil. You delayed it for thirty years, and then, as you were not under the wholesome influence of Wilberforce, Buxton and those great minds that influenced the British people at that time, it cost you, as I said before, eight billions of dollars and one million lives, to do the same thing we did.'

Parkin pointed out that for 125 years the United States had kept its doorways open to all the world and had

admitted a multitude of people from every range of political development and in every stage of ignorance, political and educational. Never before had any nation such an immense task of digestion. 'That,' he said, 'is the process through which this nation is going at the present time, under the pressure of the war with Germany. That is what is testing your nationality, and driving it back upon itself, and concentrating it, just as the unification of our British Empire is being tested. In that same way you are being tested in the unification of your people, in the solidification of American ideas and ideals, and in the creation of a real American nation. You are going through the same test that we did.' He emphasized the immense responsibility that would rest upon Great Britain when the nations entered the conference by which the war would be settled. 'No greater responsibility,' he said, 'was ever placed on human shoulders before, the responsibility for three or four hundred millions of people and one quarter of the geographical area of the world.' He continued :

'You, here in your isolated position, have developed the most concentrated area of what we will call for the present Anglo-Saxon civilization, that the world has ever known, with enormous capacities for the future, touching upon both the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans, and assuming responsibility for South America and Central America as well as for North America. You will go into that council burdened with that tremendous responsibility. Now, if there is one thing in the world that it is a necessity for every one of us to make up our minds on—not three years hence, but to-day—it is the question of whether our British people and your American people are going into that conference and that discussion with a sympathetic

understanding of each other, trusting each other, believing each other, and willing to act with each other on the great principles of life. I believe myself that no guaranty, or any peace arrangement that can be made in the world, can for one instant compare with what the strength of a combination would be which brought into sympathetic understanding and sympathetic co-operation the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race.'

He urged the American people to get rid of the notion that Great Britain was not a democratic nation. He reminded his audience that when an American statesman had served for four or eight years as President they threw him away like a squeezed orange. He had never had a more pathetic interview than he had had with Grover Cleveland after he ceased to be President. But when James Bryce ceased to be British Ambassador at Washington, Great Britain put him into the House of Lords, where the Empire could still profit by his wisdom and knowledge of the American people. In England they had a great soap-maker named Lever and they made him a member of the House of Lords because he had large social ideas. There was not a single working-man in Congress, but in the British Parliament there were seventy Labour members standing beside sons of peers and country gentlemen. The truth was that England was more democratic than the United States, and the British people did not after every general election give up all control over the Government for four years as did Americans. The father of Lloyd George was a village cobbler and a local preacher. 'Have you got anything more democratic than that here in America?' In Great Britain they had the power to conserve their assets. It was true that in the House of Lords they had the hereditary

principle. He told of an American who on seeing a British passport had asked, 'What does this mean here—Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Cecil, Marquis of Salisbury, Knight of the Garter, Warden of the Cinque Ports, etc., etc., etc.? What, in heaven's name, do you mean by calling people all those names?' He answered that the man who carried these distinctions was the first statesman of Europe, a lineal descendant of Burleigh, the great minister of Elizabeth, whose nephew was Prime Minister of Great Britain and whose sons were following in the father's footsteps. 'When our British people find a family which can turn out such men as those, we do not care what names they call themselves, if they give us public service of the kind that they have given us; and it would be a good thing for you Americans if you could get such use out of your Vanderbilts, Astors, and all the other people who have piled up millions of dollars.'

Parkin further told his audience that before leaving England he had talked with General Jan Smuts, 'the great leader of the Boers in the South African War,' with Lord Bryce and with the American Ambassador, and had told them that in America he would be asked if they were going to restore the conquered German colonies of West Africa and East Africa or was 'England going to follow her old habit of grabbing all the colonies she could get all over the world.' In reply he brought a message from General Smuts to the people who had lived for a century under the Monroe doctrine. Smuts had said: 'We are building up a new nation in South Africa. We have had right beside us the greatest danger that the world could have, as we now know. We have had the German threat in our very vitals here in South-West Africa and in East Africa. If Britain consents to give back those colonies, South

Africa will not remain a part of the British Empire. We cannot face the future with Germany hanging upon our sides and threatening our very vitals at every point.'

He further pointed out that Australia had conquered New Guinea and the neighbouring islands, and the Commonwealth asked the British people, 'Are you going to allow the Germans, after we have left 50,000 of our men dead at Gallipoli and on the plains of France, to compel us to arm ourselves to the teeth for all time to come by giving Germany back those colonies?' The position of Australia in relation to New Guinea was exactly the position of New Zealand in relation to Samoa. He had been told by Senator Lodge at Washington that the United States did not want to have Germany back in the Pacific. Great Britain would be more than willing to have the United States take charge of East Africa and South-West Africa. There would be no objection from the British Empire. 'We are perfectly willing to have you come and take them, for we have all the responsibility that we want to have. We know this, however, that the growth of these young nations is compelling us to assume responsibilities that we never would have thought of before.' The speech ended with this appeal to the American people:

'In this great new world into which we are entering—and no one knows as much as we do, with all our sufferings, that it must be a new world socially, politically, industrially, and in every other relation—in this new world into which we are entering after this war, the most important thing of all is that the great American people and the great British people, in all the corners of the world, should understand each other, should sympathize with each other, should learn from each other the lesson of success or

failure, and should try to use the united wisdom of people who have the same ideals, the same conceptions of citizenship, the same high ideas of morality, the same idea of justice to all kinds of men throughout the world, for the benefit of the whole world. If they are united, I do not hesitate to say that not the domination of the world, but the control of the world, in order to secure this future, will be in our hands ; and it is the only condition on which the future of the world and of civilization can be maintained.'

One has quoted at length from this speech because it is so characteristic of his manner and method with American audiences. His swing and power and fervour of conviction made him immensely effective for the immediate purpose. His candour provoked neither irritation nor resentment. Seldom indeed were his arguments challenged or his positions attacked by public men in the United States or by representative American newspapers. All that he said at Chicago he repeated elsewhere, and again and again he insisted that there was greater advantage to mankind in the nation-making policy of the British Empire than in the isolation of America, and an elasticity, a power of decision, and an adaptability for all the good ends of civilization in the British system of government impossible under the American Constitution and American precedent and practice.

CHAPTER XIII

DEMOCRACY IN PROFESSION AND PRACTICE

PARKIN was eager to bring the United States face to face with the problems of Europe and to have Americans understand that Great Britain could no more escape responsibility in the re-settlement which must follow the Great War than Americans could turn their backs upon Cuba and the Philippines after the war with Spain. He was anxious for General Smuts to visit the United States and to this end sought the aid of Lord Milner, at the time perhaps the most influential member of the British Cabinet. He saw all the dramatic significance of the participation of South Africa in the European conflict and of the action of the Boer leader. Smuts, he believed, could show as could no one else the reasons why the German colonies could not be restored, and explain as could no one else the motives which must govern Great Britain in dealing with problems which she could not escape.

In a letter to Smuts, written at Toronto (May 15th, 1918), he recalled an interview he had had with the South African statesman before he left England. He mentioned that he had many times put before American audiences views expressed by the General about the German colonies in South Africa and that nothing he had been able to say had attracted more general interest.

'Among the men,' he wrote, 'who have much influence on American thought are Dr. Eliot, ex-President of Harvard Uni-

versity, and Dr. Lowell, the actual President of the same University. A few days ago I had long conversations with them both. President Eliot is urgent that the Allies should at once make a public and positive statement that they will not under any conditions return the German colonies. He believes that this is an absolutely necessary safeguard for the future, and he thinks that a definite statement will clear the air and will be well received in America. This view rather surprised me, as I had myself thought that anything working towards territorial expansion of our Empire would awaken suspicion in America about the unselfishness of our aims. He authorized me, however, to quote his opinion on the matter to any American audience. President Lowell would not perhaps go as far as this in the matter of immediate policy, but he lays great stress upon having the American public made aware of the South African, Australian, and New Zealand point of view, and attaches great importance to anything that you can say to the public on the matter.

No doubt you have already been approached with the suggestion that you should yourself come to America and place your views before the American public in person. This may be quite impossible, but nothing can well be more certain than that such a step would have an overwhelming influence on opinion in the United States, and you would receive a public ovation everywhere. Failing this, I am quite sure that there is no other way in which you can serve the interests of South Africa and the Empire more than by using any other channel open to you for getting in touch with American opinion. When I was in Boston lately the editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* spoke to me very urgently about this, and wished me when I return to England, as I hope to do within a few weeks, to see you and talk over the matter of writing an article for that magazine, which offers about the best channel I know of for reaching the educated classes of the United States, through whom a wider audience will rapidly be reached. It seems well to write to you at once without waiting for my return. I was in New York after being in Boston, and there I learned indirectly from someone who seemed to have knowledge about it, that the *Century Magazine* expected to publish something that you had written. I hope that this is correct, but I do not think that the one need necessarily exclude the other. I was assured that the more that was written on the question the greater would be the advantage. An illustration was pointed out to me from American history which furnished an interesting parallel. The people of New England in 1745 took a chief hand in conquering Louisburg from the French. Its restoration by Great Britain in the next treaty of peace produced a feeling of distrust of the Mother Country among the colonists

which had much influence on the American mind at the period of the Revolution. . . . No one can put the case for retention with such effect as you can here in America, and I hope you will keep it steadily in mind. The Monroe doctrine has prepared for you a sympathetic hearing. I have always held that practically three new Monroe doctrines would be the outcome of this war—one each for South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand—and each with as full a justification as the original one or even stronger.'

Smuts seems to have been convinced by Parkin's argument and willing to visit the United States but was dissuaded by Lord Reading, who served for a period during the war as British Ambassador at Washington. Lord Reading, so far as one can discover, did not actually oppose the proposal, but thought the time inopportune for the contemplated visit and advised delay. In a letter to Lord Milner (October 17th, 1918), Parkin protested against delay and insisted that the advantages of an immediate visit from the General were as urgent and as vital as had been represented.

'The truth of this,' Parkin wrote, 'seems absolutely clear. As things are going now the weight that President Wilson will bring to the Peace Conference is steadily increasing. The date of that Conference may not be far off. Without a reasonable pressure of American public opinion behind him it is not at all certain what his attitude on the Colonial question would be. That opinion could be profoundly influenced by a visit from General Smuts. The direct influence he might have on President Wilson would probably be great. The educated opinion of America is already gathering strength in the matter, but it is essential to reach the multitude as well. The plea for something like a Monroe doctrine applied to the young South African nation would get a ready hearing. Besides, nothing would so strengthen General Smuts himself in South Africa as a vigorous move in this direction. As I

understand things at present there, our policy is to strengthen Botha and Smuts in every way. Nothing else can do this so effectually as a visit to America such as I propose. I honestly think that my wide travels in America enable me to gauge feeling there over the whole country better on some points than Lord Reading could possibly do from the Washington political outlook. If you think that anything would be gained by my having an interview with either Mr. Balfour or Lord Reading, you might put me in a way of securing this. I have written to Sir Robert Borden urging him personally to explain the Dominion's situation in the United States and to use Foster and other members of his Cabinet for the same purpose. But the crucial point lies in South Africa, and the urgency of the need increases daily. At any rate, I have cleared my conscience.'

Parkin did not prevail. Probably events marched too fast for a timely or effective visit by Smuts to America. Once the Armistice was declared, pressure upon the United States could be exercised only through the Conference at Versailles. It is clear, however, that Smuts would have spoken with such authority to the American people as probably no British statesman could command, though nothing even that he could have said would have brought the United States much nearer to Europe or have convinced the American people that they should take a mandate in Africa.

Writing to Lord Bryce (September 17th, 1917), Parkin expressed the opinion that the West would be more solidly behind President Wilson than even the East, ' saying less but working hard and ready to do anything.' To Bryce, as to many other correspondents, he emphasized the necessity of convincing Americans that by ' political

evolution in the great Dominions and even in England itself we have worked out democratic systems of government which enable the popular will to act as effectively and more speedily than in America.' This was essential 'if we are to have real national co-operation in the future.' He saw the American spirit gradually crushing out all open expression of sympathy with Germany. 'The whole American nation, somewhat inchoate as a result of the last fifty years, seems to me just like one of those heated masses of metal having the dross squeezed out of it under enormous pressure.' He explained in this letter that he had discussed with President Schurman of Cornell University, Lowell of Harvard, Hibben of Princeton, and with public men at Washington a suggestion by Bryce that the United States as the only disinterested country should send out a strong Commission after the war to report upon the problems of the Balkans. He professes also to have found a growing fear among thinking Americans that the war would end before the United States could take any effective part in the struggle to maintain free institutions in Europe and relieve the world from the menace of German domination.

In a letter to Lord Milner, from Berkeley, California (November 16th, 1917), Parkin said: 'When I came away from London the American Ambassador told me that he could scarcely think of anyone having a more useful mission at the present time than a person like myself, visiting all the universities and having opportunities there to explain the British position in this war. I am seeing clearly what he meant. Wherever I go my consultations with college presidents and faculties invariably end in further discussion of war questions and Anglo-American relations. You would be surprised to

know how new to most of those I talk with are some of our British ideas. Still more surprising is the willingness, not to say the eagerness, of people to catch these new ideas. I have sometimes spent two or three hours with a large faculty body, giving them information and answering questions. Over and over again I have been told that these discussions lead them to see things in an entirely new light.' In the same letter he explained that he was constantly asked to address clubs, Chambers of Commerce, and other organizations, and declared that his addresses were received with 'unexpected appreciation.' He continued: 'My discussions turn largely upon one central point, which I am convinced is the critical and essential one just now in regard to popular opinion in America. I try to prove to them that while the spirit of democracy is all that one could wish for, here in America, in the actual working of it out, we in the Motherland and in the Dominions are really more democratic than they are if the immediate influence of the popular will on the action of government is what is meant by democracy. I have no difficulty in proving this, and they admit that while my position is a new one to them, my arguments are unanswerable. I am thoroughly satisfied that if this idea can be widely impressed in America it will add greatly to the staying power that the Government will have behind it.'

Again and again in his American addresses during this period, in the endeavour to overcome ancient prejudices and animosities and prepare the way for understanding and co-operation between the British and American peoples, he emphasized the essentially democratic character of the British system of government. More and more he became convinced that this fact must be established as the enduring basis of Anglo-American relations.

That he saw clearly was manifested in the prevalent suspicion of Russia and is illustrated in the stern refusal of the United States to have relations with the Soviet tyranny which had been established upon the ruin of the old autocracy of the Czars. It may be that there is much of vain pride in the American conception and practice of democracy, but Parkin was concerned not so much with the restraints of the American Constitution as with the guarantees of popular sovereignty under British institutions. Writing to Mr. John Buchan he described the effect of a speech which he delivered at the Commencement exercises of the State College of Delaware at Newark. 'The eagerness,' he said, 'with which they listened and the cordial way in which they took the frankest possible talk about American-British relations from the Revolution down to the present time surprised me greatly. Scores of people came to say to me how grateful they were for what I had said. You can imagine what this means when one of my points was that this war, with its greater struggle for a larger liberty, would have for one of its results the making of the Fourth of July an anachronism. Even after this one of the principal speakers closed his address by welcoming me "to this part of the British Empire."'

In another letter to Buchan (April 15th, 1918), he gives a vivid account of his work in the United States, the state of feeling, and the obstacles to be overcome in the effort to abate misunderstanding and bridge differences between Great Britain and America, and frankly states the attitude which he thought should be taken and the arguments which should be employed if the great object was to be attained :

'I have been through most of the States of the Middle West,

down the Pacific Coast, over several of the Mountain States, and now I have just returned from a long tour in the South through Virginia, the Carolinas, Florida, and the Mississippi States. In all these places I have been addressing the universities and in many of them commercial clubs and other bodies. The easy and very friendly access which my Scholarship work gives me to the educational institutions has made it possible to get audiences of a very interesting kind. In the large universities, such as Illinois and Kansas, I had groups of two or three thousand students to talk to and proportionate groups in smaller colleges. I think that I did equally useful work, and probably more permanent in its results, in the consultations which were almost always arranged for me with the faculties or faculty clubs, when whole evenings were passed in keen discussion of our common interests in the war.

The ground I have been covering is rather different from what has fallen to almost any other speaker that I know, and it has given me a rather exceptional view of the whole situation. While I have had no organization of any kind to arrange meetings for me beforehand, and while I have depended almost entirely on my university connection for getting audiences, I doubt if I could have been more useful had I been addressing the large mass meetings provided for some speakers. It has become quite clear that a great change is coming over the whole country in its attitude towards things British. This is, of course, most marked in the educated classes, but it is not so long since even among these there was an instinctive hostility to, or suspicion of, England. A great deal of this still exists in the uneducated or half-educated classes, to whom broader ideas will only slowly simmer down. My effort has been directed almost entirely towards creating a sense of responsibility in university people and other leaders of opinion for breaking down popular prejudices which have sprung from the false or one-sided teaching of history. I have constantly pointed out that as it was evident from recent events that the final strain of the war would fall largely on our two nations, nothing but a sympathetic understanding between us would enable us either to secure victory or reap its full results.

I have found it necessary to follow mainly two lines of thought. In order to make the most of the patriotic inspiration given by the Revolutionary War the children of America have been so taught their history that they instinctively look upon England as a tyrant nation. On account of our having a King and a House of Lords, the average American doubts the reality of our democracy. I lay my main stress on these points. I find little difficulty in proving to them that so far from being a tyrant nation Britain has been the

greatest champion of liberty in the world, a rôle from which America was excluded by its policy of isolation. Again, I have tried to prove that if democracy means "the government of the people, for the people, by the people," we have worked out many of the practical problems of democracy better than they have. I need not trouble you with my manner of doing this, but I have had a thousand proofs that my line of argument carries conviction and clears away prejudices from many minds.

I mention all this because I am convinced that we will soon come, if we have not already come, to a point where propaganda work will have to take a different form from what was needed at first. Hitherto the main effort has been directed towards creating interest in the war among people here. I have taken opportunities to listen to the speeches of several of those who have done admirable work—the Attorney-General, Ian Hay, Sir George Reid, and others. But something much beyond this is going to be needed in the future. Through what has been done Americans generally have become keen about prosecuting the war till victory is gained; they are still far from keen about co-operating with Britain. Nor will they become so until the historical prejudices about which I have spoken have been uprooted by sound argument. They are ready—even glad—to hear, for they now realize what is at stake, they have been much impressed by the sacrifices we have made, and all the more intelligent are vexed that they did not get in earlier to help. Only a short time ago a very typical, hard-headed American admitted to me that had they not got into the war and had they left us alone to fight it out, it would have taken the best part of a century for the United States to recover its prestige as a representative Democracy. So, as I said, they are now glad to have arguments put before them which justify their joining in the fight with us.

But the roots of prejudice have struck deep and can only be removed by direct and resolute effort; by cultivating a real and close understanding on vital points. There was never before such an opportunity as at present for this. The average thinking American is growing anxious on account of the extreme dilution of his own Democracy by alien elements. He is anxious to hark back to Anglo-Saxon traditions and inspirations. The Irish point of view, as hitherto pressed in America, is becoming largely discredited. At present the Sinn Feiners are playing into our hands, as they are opening American eyes to the fact that the Irish difficulty rests chiefly in the Irish themselves. And they know that the close of the war threatens them with another great irruption of alien elements. To my mind the way in which what they call "the American spirit" has crushed the opposing elements is one of the

marvels of our time. But an increased dilution might prove too much even for it.

I have been very much struck lately in listening to George Adam Smith and the Archbishop of York. Both of them have departed almost entirely from merely arousing interest to teaching the great moral and political aspects of the war, and they have lifted their audiences into an entirely new and clearer atmosphere. If influence such as theirs could be spread all through the West and the South, where it is most needed, the situation would be immensely improved. They have both made a profound impression on their audiences here in the East. Of course, they appeal largely to those already converted, since the church organizations which they have at their command can always bring together vast audiences very responsive to moral appeals. It is high thinking such as they furnish which is now needed and should be spread among the masses of the country. Of course, they give endless inspiration to thousands who go out to spread their gospel.'

How profoundly Parkin was convinced of the necessity for understanding and co-operation between the British Empire and the United States is again revealed in a letter from Ottawa (June 12th, 1918) to Sir Harry Wilson, Secretary of the Royal Colonial Institute :

' My travel,' he said, ' has taken me across the whole breadth of Canada—down the Pacific Coast—through the Mountain States, the Middle West, and lately all the Southern States, to say nothing of the large centres of population in the East. My work reminded me of my old years of travel in the outer marches of the Empire when we first began to discuss the unification of the Empire. Now that that great problem has been pretty nearly settled and its full realization is well within view, a still wider one seems to have arisen. A closer and sympathetic understanding between our two great Anglo-Saxon nations has under the pressure of the war become a matter of supreme importance. It was the vision that Rhodes had in his mind. Whether to win the war or to gain the full fruits of success in the struggle this under-

standing has become a supreme necessity. It is towards this end that I have been working as best I could along with many others who have come across. It has been a deeply interesting experience. A profound change is coming over the United States in the attitude of the people towards the British Empire. On several occasions I have taken as my subject "The relation of our British and American Democracies to the War and to each other," and you can understand how much there is to say on such a subject. Indeed, as things stand to-day, this question of a sympathetic understanding between our two great nations concerns the future of the world and the safety of civilization more than anything else. We can talk all this over when I get back. You have been and are going through anxious times. It has been rather trying to be so far away for a long time from the centre of things, and I shall be glad to be back in England.'

These letters reveal as could nothing else Parkin's amazing vitality and capacity for endurance. The strain was continuous, and the labour prodigious. He was never at rest, never depressed, never unequal to any demand. Day by day he made long railway journeys, received deputations, submitted to newspaper interviews, spoke to crowded public meetings, and answered questions from the platform with gracious courtesy and unfailing vivacity. Moreover, he was three score years and ten, and for half a century had drawn recklessly upon all his resources of mind and body. Looking at the portrait of himself which hangs in the Prayer Hall of Upper Canada College, Parkin once suggested to Colonel Denison that it made him look tired. Denison agreed and added: 'You often had that look. You always could work too hard and you always will. You never feel so satisfied

as when you are on the full rush. You are built that way.' Whether this was true or not, it is certain that he never put such strain upon himself as during those crowded years of 'glorious strife' when he was interpreting the British Empire to the United States and striving with all his abundant faith and energy to bring the English-speaking peoples together in firm, confident and enduring amity.

CHAPTER XIV

INCIDENTS AND CONTROVERSIES

In December 1893 Parkin was asked by Mr. John Usher, Treasurer of the North of Scotland Liberal-Unionist Association, to accept nomination for a seat in the Imperial Parliament. 'I know,' Mr. Usher wrote, 'your devotion to Imperial Federation and that no occupation would be more congenial to you than endeavouring to promote this great object, but at present I do not think there is scope for your energies in promoting this alone, as the nation is so occupied with important political questions that it will not give the attention to the other which its importance deserves. We want candidates and it has occurred to me that you might be disposed to contest one of the seats that we mean to contest at the next election. Of course we would bear the cost, and if you succeeded and got into Parliament you would have a greater field than you have had yet and could still give some time to making known the benefits of Imperial Federation.' It was suggested that Parkin should contest South Aberdeen, and he was assured that if defeated there he would be provided with a seat elsewhere. There was the further intimation that he would be expected to deliver addresses throughout the United Kingdom as the interests of the Unionist party would seem to require. 'If you have not money,' said Mr. Usher in a second letter, 'other people have, who have not your gifts, and I write

to ask if we guaranteed you £500 per annum for three years would you be willing to devote yourself to politics?'

If Parkin was tempted he did not yield. The one thing that made acceptance of the proposal difficult, if not impossible, was the thought of dependence upon a party treasury. There is no doubt that he would have desired to enter Parliament if his means had permitted. Once he consulted Sir George Foster as to the prospect of election to the Canadian House of Commons. But in Canada, as in Great Britain, the freedom of action for which he was bound to stipulate was a bar to nomination by any party convention and a disqualification in the eyes of party leaders. It is true, too, that he never made any real effort to secure a constituency. He was remote from the common activities of party politics and never quite willing to give to any party the service or the allegiance which could not fairly be refused if he was to have its confidence and be influential among its leaders. There were conditions, not unreasonable, which he could not fulfil, and obligations, not dishonourable, which he could not assume if he entered Parliament as the candidate of a party, and since he had neither the means nor, so far as one can learn, the inclination to enter Parliament as an isolated Independent it was inevitable that he should refuse to contest South Aberdeen and even more inevitable that he should not have found a door of access to the Parliament of Canada.

Few of his associates of the Federation League were willing to have him enter politics as a Unionist or Liberal-Unionist candidate. It was urged that acceptance of Mr. Usher's proposal would identify Imperial Federation with a British political party, to a degree be a betrayal of Liberal federationists whose confidence he had enjoyed,

and necessarily weaken a great movement of which he had been the authorized spokesman throughout the Empire. It was urged also that Home Rule for Ireland, then the chief issue in British politics, was not necessarily in conflict with the ideals of federationists and that the leader of the federationists could not with decent consistency use the arguments of federationists against the legitimate Irish demand for an extension of self-government within the Empire.

One of Parkin's friends at Oxford wrote: 'It would, of course, be a great pleasure to see a way opened for you into the House of Commons, but the money question is not an easy one. The more I see of our politics the more I am led to think that a man is not wise to enter Parliament unless he has at least a small independence under his feet. One chafes against the idea that any fool can buy a hearing for his opinions, and that men of small means cannot get a hearing at all. But each individual has to guard his own independence, and it is very difficult to do that when you are "run" by any person or organization. In '88 I allowed the Liberal-Unionist organization to pay the greater part of my expenses. There was nothing discreditable to them or to me in this—but I was made to feel that I was not quite my own man and fought less vigorously in consequence.' Lord Milner gave like advice, as did most of those who knew Parkin well and understood that he could not be happy if he were free and that he could not from within the Unionist party hold the old relation to Imperial causes nor enjoy as fully the confidence of Liberals with whom on many purely British questions he was in substantial agreement. His decision was delayed for more than three months, but on March 1st, 1894, he wrote to Mr. Usher:

'I have now thought over with the greatest care and from many sides the proposal which you made, so generous on your part and so flattering to me. I have also asked the advice of three or four of the clearest-headed friends I have—men in whose judgment I place the greatest reliance. It has been a hard question to decide, and the pros and cons have been anxiously balanced. The question has really turned upon whether I would do more good to the national cause with which I have been so much identified by trying to get a seat in Parliament or harm by declaring myself at the present time a party man. The opinion of my friends (all of whom were of our own way of political thinking) was divided, but after much earnest deliberation I have concluded that duty to the larger national cause makes it necessary for me to decline your proposal, magnanimous as it is. As I told you the other day, I would like to lay before you more in detail the reasons for this decision, but as the conclusion cannot itself be affected by any such statement, it will probably be better to postpone this till I can do so by word of mouth when we meet, as I trust we may during March, when I am to be in Edinburgh. I greatly regret that it has been necessary to keep you waiting so long for a final answer, but nothing else was possible, as I explained to you before. Let me once more thank yourself and your friends who are acting with you for the very signal proof of their kindness and confidence in making me the offer they did. I shall value the recollection of it as long as I live.'

If Parkin was seldom intemperate he was sometimes impulsive. On occasion he could disturb the serenities and even menace the proprieties. But there was always provocation and generally justification for impulsive speech or action. Once at the National Club in Toronto

he joined with Colonel Denison in vehement protest against the implications and assumptions of a speech which Edward Blake had just delivered. The National Club, it must be remembered, was an outgrowth of the ' Canada First ' movement which had its birth in the first years of Confederation, and which proclaimed devotion to Canada and the Empire as its cardinal principle and chief object, without regard to the interest of any party, any section of the union, or any element of the population. The 'Canada First' group was organized and the National Club founded eight or ten years before the actual formation of the Imperial Federation League, but its leaders saw dimly in the federal union of the British North-American Provinces the foreshadowing of a federated Empire. To this vision Blake himself gave life and substance in speeches of such power and vigour that for a season he was Paul among the apostles. But his zeal was short-lived, he ceased to bless, if he did not curse, and separated himself ever farther from the company of the federationists and the political faiths of the National Club, which for many years was peculiarly a nursery of British sentiment in Toronto and not unfaithful to the ideals of its founders.

On December 8th, 1897, the Club gave a dinner in honour of Lord Aberdeen, who was then Governor-General of Canada. Among the guests was Blake, leader of the Canadian Liberal party from 1882 to 1887, and afterward a member of the Irish Home Rule group in the Imperial Parliament. In 1896 the Liberal party under Sir Wilfrid Laurier obtained power in Canada, and there were those who believed that Blake cherished the hope that he would be asked to replace Laurier as Prime Minister or at least be offered a constituency and sent back to the Canadian Parliament. Laurier believed that Blake

had this thought in his mind, but, reluctant as he had been to take the Liberal leadership, he had led the party to victory after eighteen years of exclusion from office and now was not only unwilling to retire in Blake's favour but not even anxious that Blake should be provided with a constituency. Blake, whatever may have been his weaknesses as a party leader, had great intellectual power, high moral purpose, and tireless industry, and Laurier fully realized that with him in the House of Commons his own position would become immensely difficult and the party be embarrassed by a divided leadership, not so much because Blake would have been deliberately disloyal but because he would have been an uneasy comrade and an intractable follower. At the time of the dinner to Lord Aberdeen, Laurier and the Liberal party were in high favour with Canadian Imperialists because they had abandoned the movement for freer trade with the United States and established the first preference in favour of British imports, and because during the celebration of Queen Victoria's Jubilee in London the Liberal leader had made speeches which could be interpreted as foreshadowing a more direct participation by Canada in the parliamentary councils of the Empire.

Blake's speech at the National Club, difficult of exact interpretation as many of his speeches were, challenged the whole political creed of the Club and revealed little sympathy with the immediate temper of the Liberal party. He said that 'recent remarkable demonstrations of Imperial sentiment and fervour of mutual goodwill proved the existence of a feeling strong enough to overcome great difficulties, but after all they have not solved the insoluble, they have not revealed the unknown, nor have they thrown one gleam of light on the problem of Imperial Federation.'

He expressed his general approval of preferential trade, open to all responding countries and not exclusive of any. All were agreed at home and abroad in the wish and effort to develop trade within the Empire on 'sound and practicable lines.' He would, however, also extend trade relations with the United States and with other countries. He quoted from an unnamed statesman, who, he said, had been forty years in Parliament and had belonged to both parties, a declaration that the British Government had given Canada to understand that in any quarrel with the United States she must defend herself. In such a quarrel Great Britain could take only a naval part and 'the utmost valour and endurance could not secure us against a hostile military occupation.' From the unnamed statesman he quoted this further sentence: 'It follows as a natural consequence that when a paramount State has ceased to be able to protect a dependency it is not in a position to exact obedience from that dependency, at any rate so far as regards the dealings of that dependency with another State from which the superior will not undertake to defend it, and that in plain English is the exact position which we now occupy towards England and the United States.'[1] Mr. Blake believed, however, that Canada should increase her contribution for defence. 'I think that both those who look to federation and those who look to independence as the ultimate outcome may all agree that we should enlarge our present contribution.' He added, 'I believe that in moving on these lines we shall best fulfil our obligations to Canada and to the Empire as a whole and

[1] It is believed that the statesman quoted, who had been forty years in Parliament and had belonged to both parties, was Sir Richard Cartwright. I have not, however, found the sentences quoted in any of Sir Richard's letters or speeches. Blake and Cartwright were not on good terms with each other, which may explain why Cartwright was quoted and his name not given.

best prepare for whatever future may be in store for us.' He quoted from a speech delivered by himself in 1894 to the effect that the long delay in grappling with problems affecting the relations between the Mother Country and the Colonies and the difficulty of devising any system of co-operation had led to a gradual but permanent division of those concerns. There was a steadily diminishing proportion of common interests. There was no plan of a common Imperial Parliament nor any new light from the labours of the federationists. There was, however, among Canadians attachment and respect, loyalty and affection, for the United Kingdom, but the principle of Home Rule must govern and determine the relations between the Mother Country and the Dominions. Through fidelity to this principle there was a deep-rooted measure of content throughout Canada. The speech was thoroughly characteristic of Blake's manner and method. He was always concerned to prove his own consistency. Just when he seemed to be most positive there was found to be a reserve and a qualification. He was not without courage, but it was often difficult to determine whether he was advancing or retreating.

Denison and Parkin, both of whom had been leaders in the federation movement, were greatly exasperated by Blake's deliverance. Both spoke after Blake, with none of his caution and perhaps less reserve than the occasion demanded. Late at night, after the dinner, and manifestly still excited by the event, Parkin wrote to his wife :

' I have had an odd experience to-night. I went down to the Aberdeen banquet at the National Club. It was a brilliant affair. Edward Blake was there. Denison kept telling me that he would be sure " to put his foot in it and badly." Late in the evening he had to reply to a toast and

made a set speech most carefully prepared and mostly written. It was the most hair-splitting, face-both-ways kind of an utterance I ever heard on Canadian matters. It vexed me thoroughly, and as for Denison, he was like a lion rampant. The Chairman asked him to reply. He spoke well and vigorously, but he was too excited to do his best. When he sat down there were loud cries for "Parkin." Under the circumstances I not only could not refuse, but could not help longing to free my mind. So I gave them ten minutes without gloves—working up to a climax in which I declared that no man could be a leader in Canada who entertained such views as those we had listened to. The place went wild with applause. After the meeting lots of them took me by the hand and both hands, thanking me for saving the credit of the Club, and stating the real Canadian position. This from Liberals as much as Conservatives. Lord Aberdeen sent for me to say something pretty much the same. All this you must take with many grains of allowance, and I really cannot judge whether there is anything more than momentary excitement behind what was said. Perhaps the papers will not make much of it. Between Ross's speech the other night, Blake's to-night, and the enthusiasm about the reply Denison and I made, it is a pretty political stew.'

Two days later Parkin wrote: 'Our talk certainly raised a pretty tempest down town and was much talked of. Last night Blake announced that he was not going to return to public life here.' There is reason to believe that Blake thought Denison and Parkin took advantage of the occasion to make an unprovoked attack. He had so guarded himself by reservation and quotation, by admission and qualification, that he was amazed if not dismayed at the fervour of dissent which his speech produced. It may

be that both Denison and Parkin were carried too far in the heat of battle, but Blake surely could not have believed that such a speech at such a time and in such a place could pass unchallenged. Parkin does not exaggerate the interest which the controversy provoked, although he probably does exaggerate its effects upon Blake's plans and movements. There was no possibility that he could dislodge Laurier and at the time little prospect that he would be accepted as a Liberal candidate in any Canadian constituency. One cannot recall that he ever spoke again in Toronto. His treatment at the National Club he cherished as a lasting grievance. Yet Canada has produced no son of purer motive or greater talent, of truer aspiration for the public good and of greater capacity for unselfish service. He seemed to become careless of the affection of his own people ; he could not lose their admiration and respect.

A later controversy brought Parkin into direct conflict with the Imperial Government, or at least with the Colonial Office. In 1914 the intention was that Prince Alexander of Teck should succeed the Duke of Connaught as Governor-General of Canada. Not only had he accepted the appointment, but on July 1st the Canada Club of London gave a dinner in honour of the Governor-General designate, over which Sir William Osler presided. A few days before this dinner was held Prince Alexander appeared at a banquet of the Royal Colonial Institute, where Parkin made a speech which the Right Honourable Lewis Harcourt, Secretary of State for the Colonies, thought was too frank and downright for the occasion. At the moment, as many feared, there was danger of civil war in Ulster and an intensity of party conflict over the third Home Rule Bill without a parallel in the parliamentary history of Great Britain. This situation, as was fully

understood, Parkin had in mind when the speech to which such vigorous exception was taken was delivered. He said the old foundations on which they had built so confidently for many years were beginning to rock, and when that happened at the centre of the Empire one could easily understand the possibilities of disaster if the rocking went too far. He continued :

'Group them all together—those vast Dominions, those vast Dependencies, in which hundreds of millions are watching every movement of our political life, and look also at those vast Colonies stretching in every direction, and you will understand what is involved. I said just now that the old foundations on which we have been building are beginning to rock. What do I mean by this ? Let us speak frankly. Let me say without hesitation—I appeal to people who come from every corner of the Empire—let me say that during the last few years the prestige of the great House of Commons has steadily gone down in the appreciation of the Empire. Now that is a prodigious fact. It is not long since the present Prime Minister of Canada, in his place in the Canadian Parliament, used those words, but at the same time said the prestige of the Crown had steadily risen. I know that one of my friends has said this is not the place to discuss certain questions, and I am going to be as careful as I can, but I do say we want to face facts. The prestige of the Crown, I say, has steadily gone up. It is the one anchor and hope we have in every part of the Empire. But let me say, in addition, that in every corner of the Empire there is anxiety because the buffer power which resided in the Upper Chamber has been for the moment suspended, and I believe every Colonist present would express the opinion that the sooner you have again a second buffer chamber, reformed as much as you will, which would save the King from being coerced into being the apparent instrument of a party, the better. I do not wish to say one word which will hurt anybody's feelings, but I do want to say what I feel is the truth. We Colonists like the free-flung word. I blame neither one party nor the other, for I say the faults of one party may drive the other into extremes, but I do say that the feeling of enormous responsibility for the Empire to which I have referred ought to awe all parties into a sense of deepened responsibility. Why do I mention this ? It is because, in my opinion, the ideals and aspirations which are embodied in this Institute would prove a cure for all that. There is a vast range of political experience in

this Empire capable of dealing with problems such as we have to face in this country at the present moment, and my plea is that you should call in the experience of the new world to help to redress the balance of the old. We know what party feeling means in the Colonies. We know to-day that the Canadian people are being held in check and prevented giving the assistance they would give owing to this party conflict, but we have never carried party conflict to the extreme we have here, and we say that if this country is wise she will take into council men who have experience in defining the lines between general and local government, and so help to solve the problems which are before her. If we had the National Council to which this Institute looks forward, we should have, I think, in this country a solution of the great difficulties we have to-day. Why do I say this ? It is because I believe the outer Empire can help us. I believe United Empire is the great goal at which you should aim, and this is one of the great objects of this Institute. It is because the danger comes not from outside the Empire, but is in the heart of the Empire, that this is a fair discussion for such a meeting as the present. If you were to appeal to the British people in any portion of the world, I believe that what they would tell you is that you should mitigate the intensity of party strife and come back to political sanity if you want to find a solution of your great difficulties. We have run party mad. If we could overcome that—if we could, as I have said, bring in the aid of the outer Empire towards a solution of our difficulties—we should only be carrying out the great work which this Institute was founded to further. I know I have been treading on dangerous ground, but I say that in these times men want to speak the truth. We do not want very skilful party managers, but we do want great constructive statesmen. Party feeling may be necessary, but we want party feeling kept within proper bounds. We want free debate and do not want to hear so much the crack of the party whip in the Parliament to which every nation of our offspring has looked as a model. We have a right to demand that the people of this country—the great body of Colonists has a right to demand—that they shall mitigate party fury and try to find a solution of the difficulties of the State. I feel there is nothing that would so much contribute to the prosperity of every great Dominion and Dependency within the Empire as peace and patriotism, the absence of excessive party spirit at home, and a great gathering together of the British people to deal with problems in a spirit of high patriotism.'

Through his secretary, Mr. F. G. A. Butler, the Colonial Secretary sent a protest to the Institute and in as

many words demanded a repudiation by the Council of Parkin's statements. 'Mr. Harcourt feels very strongly,' his secretary wrote, 'that the speech then made by Dr. Parkin was a most serious breach of the principles which are supposed to govern the constitution of the Institute and the conduct of its functions, and that it cannot be allowed to pass unnoticed. You will readily see that Mr. Harcourt's own position as a Vice-President of the Institute and that of other Vice-Presidents and Members of the Council would be rendered impossible if it became the practice to allow speeches of this kind to be made with impunity at the dinners of the Institute. He trusts, therefore, that the Council will take such steps as they may think proper to mark in unmistakable fashion their disapproval of the course adopted by Dr. Parkin and their sense of its inconsistency with the basis on which the Institute was established and has hitherto been maintained.'

Sir John Anderson of the Colonial Office added his protest to that of the Colonial Secretary. He contended that to introduce party politics at a gathering where royalty was represented was in extremely bad taste, and that to do so at a meeting of a society avowedly of a non-party character was inexcusable. He presumed that in the circumstances the Council of the Institute would take steps to dissociate themselves from Dr. Parkin and to make amends to those to whom his remarks must have been offensive. 'If not it will, of course, be necessary for public servants like myself to put an end to our connection with the Institute.'

When these complaints were brought to Parkin's attention he sent to Harcourt a verbatim report of his speech in which he stated no alterations or additions had been made that in any way altered the meaning of what he

had said. He was exceedingly sorry, he confessed, that Harcourt should have been led to think that the speech was dictated by party feeling or was meant as an attack upon the Government. He had stated distinctly that he had blamed both parties for 'bringing us to a position which has aroused the deepest anxiety in all parts of the Empire and, in my opinion, imperils the most important national interests.' Of this he was absolutely convinced from a somewhat unusual knowledge of the outer Empire. He had made his appeal in behalf of the Dominions and other British communities beyond the seas, so largely represented in the Institute, for a mitigation of the party strife which was shaking the foundations of the Empire. During the twelve years that he had lived and voted in Great Britain he had studiously avoided connecting himself with any political party because he wished to be free to discuss the larger problems of the whole Empire. In an experience of more than forty years of public discussion of national problems in the Colonies, the Dominions, and the Mother Country, this was the first occasion on which he had been accused of party bias, and he strongly resented the imputation.

'I spoke,' he said, 'with complete deliberation, under a very acute sense of the dangers that are threatened, and with an earnest desire to awaken men of all parties to the realities of the situation. Beyond one reference in regard to the Crown, which I now think might have been expressed more carefully, I see nothing in the speech which I care to retract or which I think inconsistent with the facts of the situation. I feel sure that the Council of the Institute will give the most serious consideration to your communication and the important question which it raises. But whatever reply it may think right to give I

shall be most ready and anxious that the text of my speech and the official correspondence to which it has given rise should be submitted to the wider judgment of the Members of the Institute scattered throughout every part of the Empire, and of the general public.'

Harcourt held to his position. The full text of the speech, his secretary told Parkin, strengthened his opinion that the references to party politics which it contained were a breach of the understanding on which the functions of the Institute had hitherto been conducted.

The Council of the Institute, however, refused to repudiate Parkin or to admit that he had infringed the fundamental principle upon which the Institute was founded and must always be maintained. It was now as ever their aim to stand wholly aside from party politics. 'The Council,' it was said, 'have every reason to be assured of, and are bound to appreciate, the disinterested and patriotic motive of Dr. Parkin's utterance, and they conceive it would be injurious to the public interest if a speaker of his world-wide repute, and his well-known detachment from party politics, were precluded from expressing on such an occasion his own strong convictions in regard to matters of vital moment to the great cause which has been the study of his life.' Finally, it was declared 'the opinion of the Council, with which it is believed you will agree, is that the speech is mainly indicative of the mischief of party politics to the cause of a united Empire, which it is the supreme object of this Institute to promote and preserve; and for this mischief, it will be noted, Dr. Parkin blamed all parties equally.'

In this connection Lord Grey wrote to Parkin: 'I do not know what you said or what Harcourt wrote on the subject, but I feel quite satisfied that you have got the best

of the encounter and that you were able to hold your own, and that the Council were also able, while not throwing you over, to establish its position as a non-party organization.' Sir Lewis Michell described the speech as 'a timely and courageous utterance.' It was not, he said, 'an attack on the Ministry but on the "madness of party," and we of the great Dominions beyond the seas have a clear right to protest against the destruction of an ancient constitution which is our heritage as much as theirs. But I would like the Council to reply in such a way as to make it more easy for Harcourt to retire from his attitude. The soft answer which "turneth away wrath" can surely be framed without abandoning the contention that your speech was legitimate and correct.'

Parkin was grateful for the loyal support of the Council of the Institute, but it is not to be doubted that he was distressed by Harcourt's obduracy and pained and surprised that his speech should have been regarded by any member of the Institute as a calculated attack upon the Liberal party and its Irish policy. He was, as always, concerned for greater things than the immediate interests of any party, and anyone who recalls how nearly the United Kingdom was brought in those clamorous days to the verge of civil conflict, who remembers how great was the danger which even the Throne could not avert, and who does not forget that Ireland was obscured only by the looming shadow of Germany, will understand why Parkin spoke as he did and how great was the need for such courageous counsel.

In a letter to *The Times* he repeated with emphasis all that he had said at the Royal Colonial Institute. There is no reference to the dispute with Harcourt, but he no doubt was seeking opportunity to explain and defend his posi-

tion. He was deeply conscious of the fear in the Dominions that the Irish quarrel would lead to actual civil war and of the effect of the subjugation of Ulster upon some of the most loyal elements in the overseas British communities.

'In the fierce play of party feeling which prevails at present,' he wrote, 'I fear that there is little chance of a hearing for anyone who believes that the fate of political parties in these Islands is as dust in the balance compared with the vast national interests which are being imperilled by the struggle going on and now approaching a culmination fraught with possibilities of disaster.

Yet perhaps I may be allowed to point out the almost irremediable injury which is being done in the outer Empire by what is taking place. The foundations on which the Empire has been built are being sapped. On what does loyalty to the Empire in our widespread Colonies, the hope of our national future, depend? On respect for the Imperial Parliament—on reverence for the Throne as representing what Tennyson calls "our slowly grown and crowned Republic"—on belief in the political sanity and wisdom of that British people which elects Parliaments and maintains the Throne.

All these securities are slipping away. The prestige of the Mother of Parliaments has for some years steadily declined among peoples who once looked to it constantly for example and guidance. The Throne—placed in a false position by the practical abolition of the buffer Second Chamber—is practically coerced into being the apparent instrument of a party. The rigid application of the party whip has, in the most ominous way, destroyed independent political thought and action, once the special glory of the English House of Commons.

Never before was this nation in such pressing need of a real National Council which represented the varied experience and practical wisdom of the whole Empire. I firmly believe that in such a Council, bent on the one great purpose of maintaining the unity of the Empire, the difficulties which now distract party politicians would disappear in an atmosphere of large statesmanship and of broad principles of justice and reasonable compromise, just as parallel difficulties disappeared in Canada, Australia, and South Africa when brought face to face with larger issues. One wonders if our public men ever reflect on the remarkable range of political experience on which they could call for help in such an emergency as this which now confronts them?

In Canada the framers of Confederation had to harmonize the strongest race and religious prejudices—quite as bitter as those in Ireland—between two Provinces which had been hopelessly embroiled with each other under a constitution thrust upon them from outside. Calling the smaller provinces to council and appealing to the idea of a great united Dominion they framed a system which reconciled central control with provincial rights, and for nearly fifty years Frenchman and Englishman, Roman Catholic and Protestant have worked together emulously for the good of their common country and with unquestioned allegiance to the Crown. A Convention of all the parties interested, with frank consideration of differences and difficulties, was what worked this political miracle. A similar Convention of Dutch and English achieved a like political miracle in uniting South Africa, even after a desperate war which had inflamed race and party feeling to the utmost. Still a third Convention of men determined to find a statesmanlike solution of exasperating provincial differences welded Australia together into a dignified and self-respecting Commonwealth. Is all this wealth of political example, experiment, and experience going to be lost on the Motherland?

It is now abundantly clear that Ulster cannot be coerced into an Irish patriotism. It is equally clear that mere repression will never make Roman Catholic Ireland contented without a reasonable measure of Home Rule. Our whole national experience proves that a common Irish patriotism can only be built up on foundations determined by Irishmen themselves. Without such a common patriotism all the Home Rule plans that can be devised at Westminster or elsewhere and forced upon unwilling people will bring neither peace, happiness, nor prosperity to Ireland.

Let Irishmen, then, follow the example of Canadians, Australians, and South Africans; meet together and settle between themselves the terms upon which they can join in united effort for their country. The fullest measure of Home Rule, consistent with the unity of the Empire, and applicable to all of its units, with such modifications as special circumstances require, will then receive overwhelming support in every corner of the Empire. Of this, much knowledge of the Colonies makes me assured. In the absence of a real National Council the Imperial Parliament will stand ready, as in the case of the great Dominions, to endorse what has been determined. If Irishmen are not capable of this common consultation, then Ireland is still unfit for Home Rule.

I observe that in these hours of anxiety appeal is constantly made to the ancient traditions of British statesmanship. Let appeal rather be made to the modern illustrations of British statesmanship,

which have achieved such results in the new Continents. The Mother of Parliaments and the Mother of Nations must not fall below the accomplishments of their offspring. If the frightful *impasse* into which party conflict has brought us leads moderate men in Parliament to assert their independence, break the shackles which bind them, and demand from their leaders, not clever moves in the party game, but large constructive statesmanship on enlarged national lines, great good may yet come from apparently desperate evil. For men with conscience and courage it is still not too late.'

Apparently, however, it would have been too late if the Great War had not broken upon Europe. The truce came through menace from without and not from conciliation and compromise within. It is now too commonly taken for granted that the advocates of Home Rule have won a battle which they should not have been required to fight. The truth is, however, that Parkin saw more clearly and reasoned more soundly than did the warring partisans of the disunited Kingdom. If the federal principle was not accepted the attempt to coerce Ulster was abandoned. The Home Rule of Gladstone and Asquith was set aside for a compromise which gave Dominion status to the South of Ireland and a measure of independence to Ulster. The chances are that this settlement of the Irish question could have been made at least a quarter of a century earlier if the spirit which Parkin displayed had animated the statesmen of England and Ireland, and thus a long step have been taken towards the ultimate unity of the Irish people under a common parliament.

CHAPTER XV

FROM LETTERS AND SPEECHES

MANY men of various interests and occupations in industry and agriculture, in trade and finance, in literature and politics, in the churches and in the universities, gave Parkin their confidence. The general counsel of many causes, he gave advice with reserve and service without stint or recompense. Rarely was he affected by any consideration of self-interest nor did he trade in his friendships for social preferment or personal profit. No doubt he was grateful for recognition and not indifferent to applause, but those few who mistook his delight in intellectual company and happy social surroundings for the eager craving of a self-satisfied egotism misread his whole character and spirit as they are revealed in his diaries and letters and expressed in the governing motives and actions of a life of singular selflessness. Many of the letters which he received show how greatly he was trusted and how much he gave of inspiration and courage to those who sought his counsel in the tasks and movements in which they were mutually engaged.

One of these, from Sir William Van Horne, in explanation of the motives and methods of the Canadian Pacific Railway, is too interesting not to quote. It was the misfortune of this great enterprise to be born in politics and to struggle for years to develop traffic, procure settlers for the Western prairies, market its securities, and establish

its credit under unfavourable conditions and in the teeth of continuous political misrepresentation and attack. In the original contract between the Government and the Company there was a provision that for twenty years no competing road south of the main line of the Canadian Pacific should be sanctioned by Parliament, and that if in the meantime new Provinces were established in the Western Territories they should be bound, as was the Dominion, by this feature of the agreement. Liberal newspapers, many Liberal politicians in the older Provinces, and particularly the leaders of the Liberal party and of the farmers' unions of Manitoba cried 'Monopoly,' denounced the scale of freight rates levied by the struggling railway, and even alleged that the Company conspired with avaricious grain dealers to depress grain prices by calculated neglect to move the Western wheat crop to market when the best prices for the farmers could be obtained. Early in 1899 Parkin, in one of his letters to Van Horne, had suggested that great corporations were too arrogant in their attitude towards the public and too unwilling to offer explanations of plans and policies, of rates and regulations, which if rightly understood would command popular approval and support. In reply Van Horne said:

'In writing you to-day I overlooked your remark to the effect that such great organizations as the C.P.R. do not hit on the best ways of making the people believe in them as forces for good—that they do not play enough hands and that they leave an impression that they have endless things up their sleeves. I can say with all sincerity that so far as the C.P.R. is concerned its game has always been an open one, with but one exception that I can recall in its whole history. That exception occurred at the time of the anti-disallowance agitation when the people of the North-West were playing directly into our wishes and we let them believe that we were standing on the defensive. We were as anxious as they were to get rid of the monopoly clause, but we had sold our securities

abroad on the strength of that clause which was looked upon there as of great importance, and we could not therefore surrender it without some apparent consideration. This apparent consideration cost the country nothing, and the people of the North-West were happy in the belief that they had accomplished something great.

At the time of this agitation considerable quantities of grain were piled in sacks in the snow at certain stations in the North-West. These were photographed and used at Ottawa to show that additional railways were needed to prevent grain from rotting on the ground. This grain belonged to the C.P.R. Company and was bought to protect the farmers against the impositions of the grain buyers who used the ghost that the farmers themselves had conjured up as an excuse for taking excessive margins. We did not say anything about this because we might be attacked for doing something outside of our charter powers; therefore we kept the facts "up our sleeve," where we have them yet, although there is no longer any need of concealment. In all other things we have been absolutely frank with the Government and with the public, and if you will look back at all that we have done I do not think you will find one case where the public was not informed of our intentions as soon as we knew them ourselves.

A great many people believe that such corporations deal largely in diplomacy and look upon everything, the reasons for which they do not at once understand, as a cover for some deeply laid scheme. Anything in the way of apparent liberality is especially mistrusted, and many people who ought to know better look upon it in this way. For instance, I once offered Mr. Samuel Barker, when he was Manager of the Northern & North-Western Railway, an arrangement which would largely benefit his Collingwood line. He refused it on the ground that we must have something behind it and that our policy was too deep for him. I must confess that I do not know how to deal with such people, and we have the usual 90 per cent. of them in Canada. It is easy enough to humbug them if one is willing to resort to such a thing. If there is any mistake in our policy it must be in excluding humbug and in saying straight out what we want and what we will do.

I hope that something will be done about the Atlantic service before long, but I almost despair of it notwithstanding the very favourable reception from one end of the country to the other of what I said the other day at Quebec. The reports of what I said failed to state that I wished to be understood as speaking without reference to Canadian Pacific interests and that the Canadian Pacific Company had no intention of bidding for the service. I

believe more firmly than ever that only the Canadian Pacific Company with its great interests by land and sea can afford to establish the service equipped as lavishly as it must be and operate it as lavishly as it must be operated in order to turn traffic from the old established channels and make the enterprise an ultimate success. A private company would be obliged to pinch at the beginning, which would be fatal. What led to success on the Pacific will lead to success on the Atlantic. We must have a more attractive line than anybody else or we cannot turn the business. But before the Canadian Pacific can be induced to touch the Atlantic service it will have to be very clearly understood that nobody else is willing to do it, as it should be done, on the same terms, and that we will not be expected to say " Thank you " for any subsidy we may get. We have given much more than full value for everything we have got in the past, but the Company is looked upon by the people at large as having been pampered and spoon-fed at their expense.'

On his way to South Africa in April 1897, to assume the office of High Commissioner, Lord Milner wrote at length to Parkin :

' There are so many things I always want to discuss with you. My life has been greatly influenced by your ideas, and in my new post I shall feel more than ever the need of your enthusiasm and broad hopeful view of the Imperial future. . . . South Africa is just now the weakest link in the Imperial chain, and I am conscious of the tremendous responsibility which rests upon the man who is called upon to try and preserve it from snapping. Any elation I might otherwise have felt at being selected for so big a post is quite swallowed up in my solemn sense of the great national interests at stake in this matter. I wish sincerely that the Empire could be represented by a stronger man. That not being possible, I am at least glad to think it could not have found a more single-minded one, or one whose heart is more wholly in the work. . . . I am quite willing to be "all things to all men" if by any means the great cause can be furthered. But without the help of a higher power I know well that I, or anybody, may be

unable to push things through. But for all that I am not disheartened. That would indeed be a poor beginning. We have had a tremendous run of ill-luck in South Africa. A change of fortune is due, indeed overdue. Why should it not come shortly? Anyway, and whatever comes, I am determined that our cause shall not be associated with any more underhand or dishonourable dealings. Rhodes is, of course, a great man, but he has huge faults, and I do not know yet to what extent he has been taught by failure. One thing is certain: the worst is immediately before me. If we can pull through the next year without some dire disaster I believe the situation may be saved.' Milner added a prayer that Parkin might 'grow in influence and practical effectiveness and remain unchanged in aspiration and sympathy.'

Early in 1900, while Sir Wilfrid Laurier was under attack in Quebec for sending Canadian troops to South Africa, and in Ontario and the other English Provinces for hesitation and delay over the despatch of contingents, for retaining in the Cabinet Israel Tarte, who had opposed ministerial action without the direct approval of Parliament, and for refusal to have Canada meet the whole cost of the Canadian contingents, Parkin wrote to Milner:

'I have wished for weeks to write to you but have forborne, knowing the pressure you have upon you. Now it seems necessary. Your letter of last autumn, written just after your return, I cannot thank you for too much. It confirmed my own convictions and encouraged me immensely. What you think on large questions of policy is becoming of much consequence in our British world, and to know that the results of your experience strengthen the belief that we have been working on the right lines is to me a thing of the first importance. All my observation of things goes in the same direction here. There is also manifestly, as you say, great need for a few of us in different corners of the world to keep in touch with each other. My chief object in writing to you at present will illustrate this. We are on the edge of a keen conflict here, and you

ought to know the situation of things, because I think you may do something to help us.

What I refer to has been brought to a head by Sir Wilfrid Laurier's cold-water reply to Mr. Chamberlain's circular about the June Conference. I was staying at Government House at Ottawa just after the New Year, and I had a long and close talk with Laurier. The opinion grows that he is not a strong man, and I fear this is true. In a way his heart is all right, but he is mortally afraid of the French vote in Quebec and thinks he is losing ground there. This is partly true owing to what I think a somewhat unscrupulous line taken by Sir Charles Tupper in the last election and by Monck, the Conservative leader, in this. To catch the French ear they accused Laurier of being an Imperialist, and they are working this card against him. His chief French wire-puller, Tarte, is working the anti-Imperial idea for all it is worth. I append a copy of the note in the columns of Tarte's own newspaper on the Chamberlain-Laurier correspondence, and you will see just how he puts the thing. The whole situation is very curious. I honestly believe that the sending of the last contingent was in part the result of a somewhat vehement five minutes' speech I made when old Sir Frederick Young had a meeting here. The country papers took up what I said about our not paying our fair part, and the pressure soon became too great for the Government to resist. But great numbers outside the political ring have been indignant at our not bearing the whole expense. I have spoken of it at various meetings and met with great applause, but as a matter of policy no strong action has been taken. When the Budget speech was given the other day showing the great prosperity of the country but making no reference to this, coming as it did after the Chamberlain correspondence, I felt bound to free my soul, and I wrote a letter to the *Globe*, which is the chief Government organ here, a copy of which I send you to-day. You will see how weak the editorial reply is. The editor himself, who is an able man but has to make the most of a bad case, tells me in a note that he quite agrees with my opinion that Canada should do a great deal more, but thinks Laurier has been ungenerously used.

In my opinion our whole effort should now be bent on bracing up Laurier's back and making him feel the deepest sense of responsibility when he goes over next summer. We may possibly have enough development of public feeling here to strengthen his purpose and make him feel that when he goes over he carries his political life in his hands, because I think this is what it means. But another point has occurred to me. It will be important that the delegates from the other Colonies should clearly understand Laurier's position and the fact that he probably does not represent the great

weight of Canadian feeling, if he takes up the same hesitating and cold-water attitude in the Conference that he has in the despatch. I think he is a man of fine instincts and good intention but is much influenced by the men and conditions immediately around him. Doubtless you will be seeing Sir Gordon Sprigg and whoever else comes to the Conference from South Africa. It might do endless good to have them thoroughly posted on the Canadian position as I put it to you, so that they would not be weakened by any developments of Laurier's weakness.

I am myself inclined to think that a failure to get some definite result out of the Conference this summer would be a serious matter. The whole world will be watching and we ought to present a markedly united front. I am trying to get the Australasian people made aware of the state of things here, and besides that I hope that the situation will be understood in England. I am just now writing to Lord Rosebery, and I think I shall ask Arnold-Forster, with whom I am in close touch, to tell Mr. Chamberlain not to be too anxious about taking a bold lead so far as Canada is concerned. I believe the country here will support a pretty strong and active line of advance.

I wonder what you are thinking about Lord Rosebery's new departure; I was immensely pleased with it. I was at Mentmore with him when I was in England, the summer before last, and his Chesterfield speech realized a good deal of what we then talked of. If you look back on your file of *The Times* you will see an article of mine in February the 26th on this point. I look upon Lord Rosebery's attempt to form a Liberal party with Imperial ideas as of the utmost importance. Should the other set of men ever come into power men like yourself would be abandoned at once, and the whole concern might go to smash.

In reply to this letter Milner wrote from Government House at Cape Town (May 12th, 1900), 'The enthusiasm which seems to exist in Canada on the subject of the war and which has borne such wonderful practical fruit is one of the most satisfactory features in the whole business.' A good deal of this, he said, was due to Parkin, and he rejoiced in 'the strong position of public influence' which his friend had obtained. The letter proceeds:

'The ideas about the Empire, which you and I have for many years cherished in common, have certainly made

a great stride forward these last twelve months, and that alone is a very considerable compensation for all the sufferings, and even disasters, of the present war. We are going to come out all right, I believe, though the end is still distant, and if we do we shall be stronger as a nation for what we have suffered and learnt. I am still too much in the thick of immediate difficulties to take stock of the final result. My hope is still—though on this point I am slightly discouraged by some recent remarks of Chamberlain's—that the present opportunity will not be allowed to pass away without bringing us somewhat nearer to effective Imperial unity, not only in sentiment but in organization. I wish the Colonies would *clamour more* for representation in the councils of the Empire; if they did now, I believe they would get it. The particular way in which they get it is, in my judgment, a minor point. I should like to see an Imperial Council, but if no one has the constructive genius to think out a practical scheme for such a council then I should like to see representatives of the Colonies in the House of Commons. I know all the objections to this, but they are not insuperable and it would be better than nothing. In the long run it would result in the House of Commons dropping a lot of local business and becoming itself an Imperial Council. It would be a very unwieldy one, no doubt, but that again would be remedied in time. The great thing is to get some organ and embodiment of a common national life, some representative body which at a time of national crisis could represent the whole Empire, and whose decisions would therefore be binding on all the parts.'

One other letter to Parkin is a striking revelation of Milner's spirit and outlook. It was written at Johannesburg (September 13th, 1901), just after he had returned

from England. The war was not yet over, but the problems of repairing the ruin and of establishing a system of government adapted to the new situation were becoming urgent. This letter, signed 'Your faithful friend,' reads:

'It is quite true, as you say, that my reception at home was most encouraging and delightful; not so much the formal honours and receptions—though I do not undervalue them—as the unmistakable evidences of support and goodwill from the mass of the people. I am strongly impressed by two things, (1) that the heart of the nation is sound, as I believe firmly is also that of the British Colonials everywhere, and (2) that our constitution and methods are antiquated and bad, and the real sound feeling of the nation does not get a chance of making itself effective. I would rather not say what I think of the House of Commons as an Imperial Council or of the effect of our rigid party system on national affairs. The experience of life has been to confirm extraordinarily my belief in the doctrine which we both held and preached, theoretically, as young men, only I am more radical and revolutionary than I then was and less inclined to trust in the growth of federal union from small beginnings. The existing Parliaments, whether British or Colonial, are *too small* and so are the statesmen they produce (except in accidental cases, like Chamberlain) for such big issues. Until we get a real Imperial Council, not merely a consultative but first a constituent and then an executive council, into control of all our *world-business* we shall get nothing. Look at the way in which the splendid opportunities for federal defence which the present war afforded have been thrown away.

I believe it will come about, but, at present, I do not see the man to do it. Both you and I could help him enormously, almost decisively indeed, for I have, and doubtless you have, an amount of illustration and argument to bring to bear on the subject, *drawn from practical experience*, which would logically smash the opposition. Our difficulty in old days was that we were advocating a grand but, as it seemed, an unpractical ideal. I should advocate the same thing to-day as an urgent practical necessity.

But a head is wanted for the show, which for obvious reasons neither you nor I can be. And I do not see him anywhere. The men of influence are either too old, too timid, or too infected with *local* partisanship and unable to get away from schemes of *local* party victory. Moreover, they are *all* too unused to think seriously and continuously of the subject as a pressing one. "It will come about

some day somehow," is the most advanced idea any of them have. "Everything comes to him who waits." Now, as a matter of fact, nothing ever comes except opportunity. If you neglect to use it, what then? We have neglected, I think, a great opportunity just now. Not that the co-operation of different parts of the Empire in the South African struggle has not had its value. It has. And I quite agree with you that we cannot be too grateful to Providence for giving us a *French* Canadian Premier in Canada at this juncture. But we cannot rely *permanently* upon casual unorganized and more or less sentimental outbursts of national sympathy as a basis of Empire. They are the raw material, out of which statesmanship can and should make a great fabric. The material is there, where are the workmen? For my own part, I am tied and bound for some years at any rate to a job, of which you no doubt fully estimate the magnitude but of which perhaps no man, without intimate local knowledge, can appreciate all the perplexities. As regards the use of the Dutch language, to which you refer, I am in exact agreement with every word you say. But I do not regard the language question as one of our greatest difficulties, though it certainly requires careful handling. My idea is that the formula, "the presumption must always be in favour of English, with *permissive* Dutch, where practical convenience demands it," will take us a long way. I have no idea whatever of attempting equality of languages, and I hope there will be little trouble in making English the language of courts, schools and Parliament—but always with a tolerance of Dutch, when necessary, as long as necessary. Proscription of Dutch would, I feel confident, defeat its own end.

A far greater problem to my mind than that of language is that of the land. Over five-sixths of South Africa all the soil is virtually in Dutch hands, as industry and commerce is in British. The danger of the race division being accentuated and deepened by an economic division—of a purely Dutch agricultural party opposed to a purely commercial British one—is very great. It thus becomes of the first importance *to strengthen the British element* on the land. Of course, the Dutch will always be a majority there, but between being a majority and being one unbroken and unleavened mass in whole great tracts of country there is all the difference.

But Great Britain now does not supply in any number the class of colonist we want for this purpose. Therefore the more Canadians and Australians we can get in the better. And it all helps to *bind* together. Good-bye for to-day. *Keep up* the touch. I wish we had some like-minded persons in New Zealand and Australia, who were personal friends. More power to your elbow.'

Among Lord Minto's letters to Parkin there are two which have permanent interest as dealing with the general question of defence and the responsibility of Canada within the Empire. Both were written in 1902, when an Imperial Conference was pending at which the Canadian Government had intimated its unreadiness to have defence appear on the agenda as one of the questions to be considered. In the first (March 27th, 1902) Minto said: 'In my opinion the cold water thrown on the consideration of Imperial defence has been the worst thing done in an Imperial sense since I have been here. It is petty and small and throws to the winds the rightful claim Canada, I am sure, wishes to have to play a part in Empire history. It is no doubt due largely to Quebec influence, but I am not sure that it is entirely so. I quite agree with what you say in your letter to me that Quebec could easily have been led in the right direction. But I think the most disheartening phase of the position has been the small amount of clamour here the despatch in question raised. No doubt there have been sharp criticisms of it, but the refusal on the part of the Government to consider at an Imperial Council the question of Imperial defence ought to have raised a storm. Canada is too large for one to expect crystallized public opinion on many subjects, most of which are naturally affected by the necessities of localities at great distances apart, but a purely Imperial question, affecting, I certainly think, the self-respect of the whole Dominion, ought to have aroused feelings which have been scarcely expressed at all. I cannot help thinking if one can imagine a similar position in the Old Country that there would have been many public meetings and much strong language. On the top of this despatch has followed the question of this new

contingent, and neither the action of His Majesty's Government nor of the Dominion has been what I would like it to have been.'

A few weeks later (May 4th, 1902) Minto wrote: 'I think myself that as regards the military question Canada's first object should be to so perfect her own forces as to be able to take her place in the line of Imperial Defence as the Canadian garrison capable of defending her own territory as part of the Empire, while the Old Country should recognize Canada's capability of taking over the fortresses under certain conditions and the opportunities and prizes of the military profession should be thrown much more open to Canadian officers than they are at present. As regards the payment of Canadian troops for Imperial wars, *i.e.* whether they should be paid by Canada or by the Old Country, though I thoroughly agree with you from the sentimental point of view that Canada should pay her own men, yet I think it is doubtful if the strain of a very great expenditure should be thrown upon Canada in the case of a distant war in which she may not be directly interested. She ought to be ready to incur both naval and military expenditure in connection with her part of the Empire and to do it thoroughly, but I doubt if she should yet at any rate accept the principle of putting into the pool for the expenditure of all Imperial wars. Take, for instance, a war on the north-west frontier of India. I believe in an emergency we could raise an excellent force here for service in that country. The love of soldiering (besides Imperial feeling) has taken root here and many would volunteer, but would a Canadian Government be justified in paying them?'

Parkin's friendship with Lord Roberts, as he said himself, 'sprang from a happy accident.' When Roberts

received the freedom of Edinburgh, after the march to Kandahar, Parkin was in Edinburgh as the guest of Alexander Bruce, President of the Geographical Society, whose wife was a daughter of David Livingstone. At a supper in honour of Lord and Lady Roberts, Parkin sat beside Lady Roberts, and he relates that as they were talking together : ' I was surprised by a hand laid on my shoulder, and on turning round to find Lord Roberts bowing very humbly and asking if he might have the very great honour of shaking hands with me. I knew that there had been some mistake and said so. " Are you not," he replied, " the author of *Montcalm and Wolfe* ? " He had mistaken my name for that of Parkman. When I had disclaimed any honour so great he went on to say that he considered that volume one of the best bits of military biography that he had ever read, and that he had long wished to thank the author for it.' Parkin and Roberts met often after the ' happy accident ' at Edinburgh and a close friendship developed, rooted in deep mutual respect, common sympathies and aspirations and a great concern for the safety of the United Kingdom and the unity and security of the Empire. Few of Roberts' later speeches upon National Service were written without close consultation with his friend, for whose skill as a speaker he had the most profound respect.

When Roberts died within sound of the guns in France, Parkin wrote to Lady Roberts :

' I have put off writing to you till the first shock of your sorrow, which has been shared by our whole nation, has had a little alleviation. But I feel that I ought now to tell you of a circumstance which is to me a touching illustration of your great husband's constant thought for and devotion to you. Some months ago he had a special

photograph taken by Hoppé at my request, and about three weeks before he died he signed some copies of it for me and my children, who all looked upon him as their ideal hero. The day before he left for France I met him here in the Club, and he then asked me if I would return one of these photographs as he had forgotten to show it to you, and he wished particularly that you should see it. I at once telephoned to the artist to send him copies of what he considered the best proofs, and I hope that these duly arrived. But I fear that he himself never saw them. I feel sure that you will value them the more as coming so directly from him. Another thing I ought to tell you as an illustration of the instinctive chivalry that ruled all his thought. I happened to be the first to tell him the news that the *Emden* had been destroyed. Without an instant of reflection he said at once : " I do hope that the captain has been saved. Such a splendid fellow ! " You can understand what a happy memory these things are to one who admired and reverenced him more than any man in the range of his acquaintance.'

Parkin's early love of nature never grew dim, and added greatly to his joy in travel. His letters to his family are filled with descriptive passages, many of which would bear quotation. In a letter to his daughter Maude (December 2nd, 1909) he thus wrote of the journey to the Grand Canyon of Arizona :

" I have had a wonderful vision of things this morning and I must tell you something of it before it is swept away by things still greater. A charming hotel, good food and a most comfortable bed made me quite ready to get up at 5.30 when we were called for the train. It was quite dark when we started, and so we were able to see from the very beginning the marvellous panorama of the sunrise on this east plateau. I thought of that line of Mrs. Alexander's :

"And the crimson streak on ocean's cheek
Grows into the great sun."

Instead of the ocean this great high plain. The clouds all seemed to have been specially posed to increase the magnificence. On low hills towards the East there were great masses of fleecy grey mist which refused to be touched by the sun, but the higher and more distinct clouds deepened and deepened in colour till the whole upper sky was a blaze of glorious colour; in parts like molten gold, in others like a red-hot furnace. I was so absorbed in this that I did not look round for a long time, but then I found how true was Clough's verse:

> "But not through Eastern windows only
> When daylight comes—comes in the light."

For when I did turn round the whole western horizon was one mass of violets, purples and blues that baffle description, changing and shifting from minute to minute. It was a half-hour of continuous thrill, where one found himself longing to burst with exclamations and to have someone near to share the sensation and impression. Then gradually the whole sky changed to shades of delicate silver, almost as striking in its way. Now, an hour later or more, the whole wonderful vision has resolved itself into the light of common day, and the whole sky from horizon to horizon is a sober grey. But the impression can never be forgotten. And what a horizon it is! I think that a few miles back we had the widest view I ever remember to have seen. We seemed to be gliding along the roof of the world, all plain as far as the eye could reach, with nothing but a few low mountains on the rim where one felt that he could, if there, look over into all space. That impression, too, was unforgettable. Now our engine is puffing and blowing, and we are going at a snail's pace, evidently climbing with difficulty to higher ground. The Canyon (I see they have anglicized Cañon here) is a mile in depth, so we must needs be high before we look down into it. The whole appearance of things is changing. Instead of the grey desert vegetation we have come to a level where the trees —apparently a kind of scrub pine or cedar—are all green, and with the patches of snow on the ground the effect is almost Canadian. This seems to be the height of land. One feels it. In the hotel this morning the least exertion made one feel short of breath. I had the same feeling once in Denver, when not knowing the effect of being a mile above sea-level I feared my heart had been affected by much travel.'

At noon he writes:

'I am paying in part the price of my glorious morning. All that splendid colouring meant a coming storm. But I am full of self-congratulation as well as some measure of disappointment. I had my

breakfast before I left this morning. Others waited to get it here, so I went out at once and had nearly the whole of a thrilling hour. You will see from this heading how the hotel is situated, right on the edge of the marvellous gorge. Everything was perfection for scenery when I got out. It is simply overwhelming—the most marvellous bit of Nature's work that I have ever seen. I think the thing I felt most was the sense of the endless ages that it must have taken to complete this stupendous piece of carving on the stone face of the globe. Fancy what it means, a cut into the solid rock a mile deep, ten miles wide, and more than 200 miles long. How far down one sees I cannot judge, but it makes one dizzy to look, and at the bottom of what one sees clearly there is the ragged winding edge of the final chasm at the bottom of which flows the river, 300 feet wide it is said. But the great thing from this point of view is the vast vista of cliffs and gorges carved into a thousand forms, the colouring something quite astonishing under an ordinary grey sky, and with manifest possibilities of light and shade under varying conditions that make one feel that all the artists in the world could never do justice to it. I was to have gone at 10.30 for a long drive so as to catch it all from different points of view, but when the snow began to fall the whole gorge became in half an hour completely filled with a dense white mist. I think the result is produced just as the fogs off Newfoundland, the cold air above meeting the warmer air ascending from the depths, as the Arctic current meets the Gulf Stream. Whether it will clear up again to-day is a problem that no one can solve. Meanwhile you can imagine how thankful I am for that one short hour of perfect sight which will make me always understand what it means.

The letter ends with a description of the journey back to Williams Junction :

'After luncheon we had another sudden change; the mist lifted as quickly as it came. I started off at once on a two miles walk along the gorge towards the east. At every turn some new wonder of scene came in view. The walk was through low woods with mere trails to follow. At last I got to a point where the outlook surpassed anything I had seen before. From this high promontory one looked out on something that must be unequalled anywhere in the world. Miles and miles of the most deeply-coloured rocks cut and carved into domes and castles, towers and pinnacles, the sun at times shining full upon them, and bringing out the colours in the most wonderful way. But words cannot describe it. I only know that I shall never again think of the world in the same way. The majesty of Nature never seemed to me so

impressive. I mentioned before the immense period of time that must have been needed for the erosion of the rocks. But the first one or two thousand feet are evidently stratified and so formed by the action of water. So we must add some millions of years for the period while they were being built up, before erosion began.

In 1912 he was elected President of the Royal Geographical Society. The Presidential Address which he delivered at the annual meeting in London attracted a good deal of attention and provoked both friendly and unfriendly criticism. Few other men could speak with such complete knowledge of the geography of the Empire and of domestic conditions in the various Dominions as he possessed. He deplored the ignorance of geography which permitted settlers to establish themselves in unproductive areas of country and the slow growth in knowledge of the products which could be best cultivated in various sections of the Empire. It was imperative, he thought, to have a closer relation between geography and settlement and to have climate and resources scientifically considered in connection with projects of immigration. 'I can recall,' he said, 'from my own experiences of travel many places in different parts of this Empire where the lack of a thorough knowledge of geography has led men to struggle and die of disappointment in thousands while trying to overcome geographical difficulties which should have been known by previous study.' He added, 'It seems as if in these great outflowings of population, of which I have been speaking, they have been almost as erratic and instinctive as the drift of the buffaloes north and south. Instead of making use of human intelligence and trying to throw all the light of science and using our capacity for discerning and thought, we have followed the crude instincts of the buffalo or the caribou.'

'When a person leaves this country there will be a wide difference in his future life, depending on the country in which he settles. Let me take an illustration. A man emigrates to Australia. He goes to a country which is partly tropical, partly one of intense aridity, partly one which is the most fertile, sunny, and pleasant in the world. If a man is going to Australia, it is of the utmost importance that he should choose whether he will go to Northern Queensland, or to Tasmania, or to Western Australia. If he goes to Northern Queensland it is practically certain that he cannot bring up his children and educate them without suffering the difficulties which are incidental to a tropical climate. On the other hand, in other parts he will find a country thoroughly suited to the healthy growth of the white races.

Instead of going to Australia, suppose he goes to Africa, again the question of whether he knows his geography may make all the difference in the world. He may go closer to the Equator in Africa than he could in Northern Queensland and yet be in a temperate climate. He would know, if he knew what everybody knows who goes to South Africa, that the moment you reach the coast of South Africa you have to climb between 3,000 feet and 4,000 feet before reaching that great plateau which is among the most habitable parts of Africa. It makes a great difference whether he knows this and whether he knows what the conditions are going to be like in the part of South Africa he selects.

Consider the case of Canada and let me tell you a story. I was in the Windsor Hotel in Montreal about four years ago when a reporter came to see me about something. The first question he asked was: "What do you think of this as a country for a white man to live in?" "Well," I said, "what do you mean?" "Why," he said, "it was thirty-five degrees below zero last night." I said, "Don't you know that is the greatest asset Canada has?" "How do you make that out?" he said. I was interested because this was all cabled to London the next day and there were leading articles on it in the newspapers. "Because," I said, "in the first place, an occasional thirty-five degrees below zero gets rid of the black problem altogether. You cannot get a negro population permanently to stand thirty-five degrees below zero. That problem put a great strain on the whole of the Southern United States; it confronts our race in South Africa; and a colour problem threatens in a less degree Australia and New Zealand. In the second place, it keeps out that Mediterranean flow of population which is flooding across the whole of the centre of the United States." The cold, on the other hand, brings to Canada the strong Northern races, the English, Irish and Scots, the Scandinavians,

North Germans and Russians, so that we may say that the result of geographical position and climatic conditions is that Canada must become one of the strong Northern races of the world. But there is a more important result than that. It has an effect upon our own immigrants of certain classes. When the submerged-tenth type of man goes to Canada, Nature takes him, as it were, by the scruff of the neck and says, "If you do not have industry, and foresight, and prudence, and get a roof over your head and food in your larder, you are going to die." And die he will. What is the result? Within one generation you will see a half-submerged type of man with his backbone strengthened; he turns industrious, looks ahead, and may soon become a useful citizen. All that is a result of latitude.'

In October 1916, Parkin spoke in the Church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields in London, on 'The Christian Responsibilities of Empire.' Rarely indeed did he deliver an address in which there was not something of Empire and something of religion. Both were in his soul and closely united there, and to neither could expression be denied. 'Can you imagine,' he asked the congregation, 'any greater responsibility than that of a Motherland which is thus sowing the seed of nations? Many of you have observed the testing grounds which our great seed-merchants have established along our lines of railway. These islands are one great testing ground—not for the seeds of corn and vegetables, but for men and women. Have you noticed what these great seed-merchants guarantee in their advertisements? "All seeds tested before they are sent out." The illustration is so penetrating that one is perhaps tempted to repeat it too often. Surely a Motherland cannot afford to give a less adequate guaranty to her daughter nations in this regard than the seed-merchant gives to his farming and gardening clients. And ask yourselves whether you think the human seeds can be properly tested, the human plants adequately trained, in a country where millions of people live in

cottages so wretched or in slums so congested that a Christian life is practically impossible? No—Britain will not have faced the Christian responsibilities of Empire until she has made a supreme effort to give a decent home and the opportunity for a decent life to all her children who are growing up to fill the vacant spaces of the world.'

Another passage in this moving address reads: 'A nation with an outlook such as ours, whose children pour forth to fill up the vacant places of the earth, must keep the fountains of its life pure. It must clean up the slums of our cities where the blood of the race is poisoned and where vice festers. Whether the slum life creates the drunkenness or drunkenness creates the slum in a greater degree seems a hard point to decide. But nothing can be more certain than this—we cannot wrestle with the one evil without attacking the other. More than this, if our country sinks back when our fighting heroes have returned home into the slavery to drink which prevailed before the war, the terrible lessons of the struggle will have been but half learned, its sacrifices will in large part have been wasted.'

There is a like appeal in a speech he made at the annual dinner of the Royal Colonial Institute in 1912. 'The wealth of England,' he said, 'must conquer the slums of England. It is not an impossible task. If West End people would apply the same amount of intense personal interest, the same lavish use of capital, the same scientific skill to dealing with East End problems that they have to supplying themselves with motors in the last five years, we would not have to wait fifty for great social improvement. England needs to abolish the West End loafer as well as the East End loafer.' Parkin, indeed, was a social evangelist as well as a crusading Imperialist.

There was singular power and fervour in a speech he once made at the Mansion House in support of the Missions to Seamen. He argued that the greatness of London and the greatness of the Empire came chiefly through mastery of the sea, and that if this were lost not much of significance or power would remain. Greatness was not deserved and could not be maintained unless the responsibilities of greatness were accepted. The sailors came from English towns and villages where the piety of ancestors had built the village church or the great cathedral and provided a clergy to teach and train. In every part of the world they stood for English Christianity and civilization. But they were exposed to every form of temptation and removed from the safeguards and influences by which they were protected at home. He asked the merchant princes of London to think of the seamen as well as of the ship and to realize that even from the standpoint of business it was worth while to keep the men fit morally and physically. Such appeals were always on his tongue. He thought of the seamen on every ship on which he travelled. He touched as they did every port of the world, and on scores of ships he pleaded for generous support for their reading-rooms, institutes and hospitals. It is doubtful if any other man of his time ever had the opportunity to make so many appeals for British seamen, and assuredly no other man spoke with deeper sincerity or greater effect. As a boy he had watched the tides rise and fall in Fundy and he never lost 'the sense that comprehends the sea' or the feeling of intimacy with those who drive the ships across great waters.

Parkin was a devoted Churchman, but he had none of the narrowness of the sectarian or of the bigot. He would have said with Joaquin Miller that 'Good is good in every

tongue.' But he observed custom and honoured tradition. Some of us have heard him read the lessons in the parish church at Goring-on-Thames and know how he reverenced the Book from which he read, how deeply rooted was his Christian faith and how unobtrusive and diligent he was in the precept and practice of his religion. But here again his essential liberality of temper and outlook were revealed, and it made him influential in the great movement in England to establish and extend the authority of the laity in the councils of the Church and carry the spirit of a reasonable and reverent democracy into an ancient and exclusive ecclesiastical autocracy. In this task of reconciliation he was greatly engaged during his last years, not from the mere desire to recast and rebuild but to preserve and strengthen the ancient foundations, and to make a free Church for a free people in harmony with the freer institutions of the Commonwealth, and in reasonable obedience to the conception of popular sovereignty in which now lie the powers and the sanctities of government.

He spoke with great freedom and fervour at many Church Congresses and at many meetings of the Church Assembly in condemnation and often in denunciation of the lethargy of the clergy, the indifference of the laity and the easy attitude of all sections and elements of the Church towards conditions and abuses which, as he thought, were bringing religion into contempt and driving multitudes into indifference and scepticism. To many minds, he said, the Great War suggested 'the definite failure of Christianity.' The fault was not in the principles of Christianity but in the half-hearted acceptance and application of those principles. Nor could the whole responsibility be laid upon the clergy. A laity which

admitted or encouraged that view had forgotten its true place and essential responsibility. Connection with the State might or might not be a good thing, but there were abnormal relations into which the Church had drifted through this connection. A Jew or other unbeliever could as Prime Minister, Lord Chancellor or patron dispose of spiritual offices in the Church. 'Such a state of things cannot be reconciled with Christian principle, must be contrary to sound Church policy and can only be a source of weakness.' Nor could they justify the sale and purchase of the right of presentation to Church livings. 'A man who holds a spiritual office as a piece of transferable personal property must be hampered in the performance of spiritual functions.' He was convinced also that the whole system of leased, owned or appropriated pews was injurious to the Church and out of accord with primitive practice, however much it might contribute, especially in wealthy city parishes, to personal convenience. He was fond of telling with enthusiasm mixed with humour of the controversy which he had at Harwich, when he triumphed over ancient usage, and by becoming the People's Churchwarden, freed the church from debt, swept away the private pews, and made God's House free to all the parishioners. It was often said, and in large areas of Church work the statement was clearly and painfully true, that the Church had lost touch with the ordinary artisan and labourer. 'The village church,' he said, 'is still, when under zealous, considerate and sympathetic direction, the rallying point and saving feature of village life. Its ideal influence is only reached when rich and poor mingle together in Church affairs with mutual respect; when clergy and lay members are standing resolutely side by side in support of all that is right—in

opposition to all that is wrong in village life. This implies a devoted clergy—a responsive and helpful laity, accepting its Christian responsibility. A clergyman who takes a personal interest in every soul committed to his cure—consulting with and assisted by the members of his church in dealing with the impoverished home—the wretched dwelling—the drunken father or mother—the unsteady youth—the drifting boy—the careless girl—the growing children ;—if our National Mission could establish this ideal for every English village church we should all find in working it out abundant grounds of repentance for work left undone, and still more abundant hope for the future of the Church and the nation.'

The Church had perhaps lessened its power by not using more freely even unlearned men of intensity of conviction and earnestness of purpose. ' May it not be that our Church has lost some of its power of reaching the masses from neglect to use aright religious forces latent in those masses themselves.' In the great industrial centres the parochial system of the Church had broken down under the excessive strain of numbers. The rich and poor did not meet together but tended to segregate themselves in sharply defined areas. The attitude of the Church towards the liquor evil was a crucial test of its fidelity to its mission. There was failure to enact restrictive legislation and a dependence of the Church upon the liquor contributions which restricted freedom of speech and action. Furthermore, there was social ostentation and extravagance in food, drink and clothing. These things ' greatly weakened the witness of the Church in matters of the greatest social and religious moment.' He said further : ' The drastic teaching of the war has raised us to a truer view than the hesitating example of our Christian laity or

the timid teaching of our clergy has ever yet made possible. And herein our National Mission may find a practical objective and opportunity worthy of its spiritual effort. Never has the use of wealth furnished such a crucial test of the reality of Christian spirit as it will now furnish when the war is over. We know that the country will be staggering under a load of national debt, heavy beyond all precedent. But in addition to this tens of thousands of shattered and half-shattered lives must be cared for. Provision must be made for the widows and orphans of those who have given their lives to save us. The nation must take in hand with new energy the clearing of the slums and improving the cottage homes where the children are to be bred who will take the place of our lost heroes. A new efficiency must be sought through improved education. In view of all this no Churchman who is true to his Christian profession will be able, for many a year to come, to spend his means on selfish luxury.'

CHAPTER XVI

THE MAN AS HE WAS

On New Year's Day, 1920, Parkin was made Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. His old friend Milner was at the time Colonial Secretary, and doubtless it was he who overruled the long-standing hostility of the permanent officials. The C.M.G. he had held since 1898, and, as a hundred friends told him in their congratulations, the higher honour was long overdue. He was pleased at the recognition, and his imagination was touched by the pictorial and historic aspects of the Order, with its banners, its Chapel in St. Paul's Cathedral, its Commemorative Services. Writing in answer to congratulations from his friend Denison, he says in part :

' I remember your once saying to me—I think it was at Quebec —that you did not understand how such things were managed, and who was responsible. Let me tell you my own experience. (Perhaps this should be confidential.) When I got the C.M.G. more than 20 years ago, it apparently came entirely as the act of the then Governor-General, who said in his note that he had only one assigned to him to give at that time. Since then the whole thing seems to have changed, and the list is left to the Canadian Prime Minister or Cabinet. This, of course, is guesswork, but I think that it is near the truth. I am quite sure that nothing further would have happened to me had it depended on Canadian recommendation. Our friends at Ottawa had too many others to consider close at home. Independent men like you and me who said what we thought and didn't care what came of it had little chance of ever being remembered. Over here again there was something of a similar kind. I made a speech at an Institute dinner about six years ago which was twisted into a demonstration against the then

Government and which caused a great excitement in the Colonial Office. The story is too long to tell in a letter, but I quite made up my mind that no further consideration would ever be shown me. I need not say to you that this gave me no regret or unhappiness. I have always preferred to be my own man and possess my own soul.

Another odd thing happened. When I came back from my last long tour in America I heard of something which touched me more than any honour could do, and made me feel that there were far greater honours than those which gave a title. You will remember that my very dear friend Lord Grey died while I was away. A common friend went to see him just before he died. Through him Grey sent it as the last request he had to make of the Colonial Office that I should be given what I have now got. The then Secretary promptly said that it was impossible. But a dozen honours could not have given me the satisfaction that my old friend's feeling at such a time did.

So while the present thing has happened quite beyond my expectation, I really had ceased to care about it, and felt it a far greater honour to be asked, as I constantly was, and I am sure you are, why it was not given.

But it will please the children and grandchildren. The Hon. D.C.L. from Oxford was a far more exceptional distinction and satisfied all my ambitions; but there is one additional pleasure in this—that it can be shared with the little woman who has stood by me for more than forty years, and has helped me over a good many bits of hard road which involved for her much courage and endurance.

No one but she knows all that I have mentioned in this letter, but I thought I would like to tell you. We have been overwhelmed with exaggerated but nevertheless pleasant messages of kindness, but as I said at first none has touched me more than yours.'

Later in the year he resigned his Secretaryship of the Rhodes Trust. He was still vigorous and equal to the work; but he had been in harness now for fifty-eight years, and felt that a little freedom was his due. The Scholarship system had been organized; it had touched the imagination of the world; it was recognized by Oxford as a fact in her academic life; it could safely be entrusted to other and younger hands.

The Trustees gave him deep pleasure by voting him unanimously and spontaneously an ample pension, and

made the happiness deeper by promising to continue it to his wife should she survive him. His physical and mental zest in life was still strong ; he had a pleasant flat in Chelsea, and a comfortable house and grounds at Goring ; he was a member of the Athenæum, and knew nearly everyone worth knowing in the British Isles, and indeed in the English-speaking world ; his son and his sons-in-law had all survived the war and were now settled comfortably, and eager to welcome him whenever he chose to come to them ; friends in every quarter of the globe thronged him with invitations. There were places he had long desired to see, and books and articles he had long desired to write.

Two sunset years were given him. He helped in the work of the parish and of the Diocese ; and was a member of the National Assembly of the Church of England. His appointment to this was as one of the representatives of the Bishop of Oxford, a compliment which he felt deeply. He had long been interested in the 'Life and Liberty' movement, in the Archbishops' Western Canada Fund, and in every plan for the development and the enfranchisement of the Church of England. Though never in the inner councils of her dignitaries, no man was more often called upon than he when a blending of sanity and of inspiration was needed upon her platforms. Both in the Church and in Education he was active on many committees, and his last share in any public activity was in connection with the search for a new Head for the Cheltenham Ladies' College.

The summer of 1921 he spent in the Province of Quebec, near Murray Bay, walking, talking, fishing, picnicking with his grandchildren in the hills or on the beach. In May 1922 he went to Padua, to attend the ceremonies at the Seven Hundredth Anniversary of the

On the beach Cap à l'Aigle, Canada, 1921

foundation of the University, as representative of the two Societies in which he had won his earliest triumphs, the University of New Brunswick and the Oxford Union.

His diary shows the fine romantic thrill given him by the manifold historic associations of Padua, and the zest with which he threw himself into every function, academic or social. The LL.D. with which he was unexpectedly honoured gave the final touch to a week which showed him still young in spirit, still capable of vigorous exertion.

A pleasant holiday in Cornwall followed, with visits to Morwenstowe and Tintagel. In June he visited Oxford, and was a guest at the annual Rhodes Banquet. Here he spoke with much of his old fire, and many who were there will remember the applause which greeted his quotation from his old Fredericton pupil, Charles G. D. Roberts :

> 'In the heart of a man
> Is a thought unfurled,
> Grown its full height
> It moves the world ;
> And to one high thought
> Is a whole race wrought.'

After spending some days pleasantly with the Wylies and other friends, he returned to London, apparently in good health, but a day or two later caught cold ; complications developed ; soon he sank into coma, and died peacefully on 25th June, 1922. Three days later he was buried in the Churchyard of St. Thomas of Canterbury, at Goring, close to the little old Norman parish church which he loved, and the garden which had given him so much peace and joy. No spot more fitting could have been chosen. Ever since his boyhood he had loved the country, and had found comfort in its hills and streams and wide fields.

What manner of man was this who had risen from a

bush farm in a remote colony to know, in the words of his own favourite poet :

> ' Cities of men,
> And manners, climates, councils, governments.' ?

In person he was tall and direct, loose-limbed and spare, quick of movement, but with much natural dignity. He rarely took more than five or six hours' sleep, and habitually read or wrote well on into the small hours, only to rise early and eager on the following morning. His powers as a talker have been well described by Bliss Carman.

' His sweeping and compelling personality made him instantly the centre of any company, and his fluent conversation and ready laugh held his hearers. Serious world topics were always his chief interest, and on these he never tired of discoursing. Stories and anecdotes, too, he delighted to have on hand. Humour with a touch of irony pleased him, and if the laugh was against himself it was just as good. When a shopkeeper in Fredericton said of him, " Yes, Parkin's a fine fellow, but he's a great talker," Parkin repeated the saying, with immense delight. So, too, when someone after hearing him speak on a public occasion, and seeing him carried away with his own tremendous enthusiasm, referred to his ' lurid glare,' Parkin told of it with great glee. His home in England was for years in a house on the Thames, near Oxford, which had long ago been part of a nunnery, and where in old days the nuns derived part of their revenue from maintaining a ferry at that point. On one very hot day two walkers came hurrying down the lane past the old garden, and somewhat peremptorily asked if there used not to be a ferry there. " Yes," said Parkin, and I can imagine the mischief in his eye, " there was a ferry here, but you are just three hundred years too late." '

No man could have grown old more beautifully. To the last, his talk was abundant and stimulating, and full of prophetic fire ; to the last he marched breast-forward, and showed no trace of the ignoble conservatism of age ; but he grew steadily mellower and more sympathetic. His correspondence and his friendships were world-wide, and made him a very real link of Empire. Nowhere did his warmth of nature and Christ-like serenity of soul come out so fully as in his friendships, and in his inability to retain a grudge. The Masters at Upper Canada College, who had resigned in disagreement with his policy, were soon on the old terms of affectionate intimacy. Colleagues of Thring, who had hoped to be his biographer, and had irked at the choice of an obscure Colonial, became, before the book was published, among Parkin's most trusted friends. Families who found each other wholly incompatible were united in a common affection for Parkin. His intimacies extended from Field-Marshals and Prime Ministers to Herefordshire poachers. Never a voyage of all his many voyages was made without the linking up of new ties which were severed only by death. Not a year of his correspondence but is full of letters of gratitude from young men whom he had ' placed ' in Canada or in the other Dominions.

There was in him as much of goodness as of greatness. A character of singular sweetness and modesty is revealed in his letters to his wife and children. As a platform speaker he was singularly effective, but it was seldom that he spoke in anger. He had no vocabulary of denunciation. Often his words ran as a torrent but always between shores that were clearly defined. The art of compromise he never acquired, and one finds in his speeches few of the hard, crisp, short sentences which distinguish the oratory

of assertion from the oratory of persuasion. He was often discursive, but the matter was seldom irrelevant to the argument. Again and again he inspired great meetings with his fervour and achieved a complete conquest over dubious and doubtful listeners. If there is joy for a speaker in the responsive enthusiasm of great public meetings, no man could have had joy in fuller measure than Sir George Parkin.

It is said that when he first spoke at the Oxford Union the impetuous flow of his sentences, as contrasted with the restrained and deliberate speaking which was the fashion of Oxford, excited perhaps more wonder than admiration. There was at first grudging recognition of his power with an undercurrent of feeling that the sanctity of traditions had been rashly disturbed. But the common judgment turned quickly in his favour and he was hailed as a fresh wind that swept with strength and healing through dim and silent places. If he was treated as a product of the New World it was not denied that he had distinction and quality, a native urbanity and that serene dignity which was never overborne by any social test or any strain of conflict.

For thirty years few public men were so often upon the platform as he. There were few towns in the Kingdom in which his voice was not heard in explanation and advocacy of the causes to which he gave himself with so much of ardour and devotion, and wherever he had once spoken he was heard again gladly. This was as true of Canada as of Great Britain. When Parkin was to speak there were few empty benches. He could give freshness to an old message and clothe an old argument in new garments. He could make an audience feel that a platitude was no longer a platitude, but a great truth that

had become soiled in the world's mart. That his popularity survived so much speaking is a significant thing. At times, no doubt, his speeches were long, but it was seldom that an audience became restless under his hand. The man was so full of life and energy that he gave life and energy to those who listened. It is remarkable that one who had such definite convictions and who concealed and extenuated nothing should have been so immune from attack and abuse. The explanation lies in his courtesy, his candour and his courage. When he first came to Toronto as an advocate of Imperial federation the Press generally was hostile to the movement and contemptuous in its references to the federationists or faddists as they were commonly described. By his first speech in that city he may not have made many converts, but for himself he created, even among those who could not accept his message, a feeling of respect and friendliness which he never forfeited. All through life it was his happy fortune thus to win affection and confidence by the simple sincerity of his nature and the high sense of equity which distinguished his public utterances.

In his speeches there are perhaps few passages of sustained eloquence or of sheer beauty of language, but for this there is a reason. He was not so much concerned to magnify his own gifts as to advance the causes in which he was interested. In the hundreds of letters to his wife and children which have been preserved there are few words of self-congratulation over even his most signal successes on the platform. Now and again there is a suggestion that he was at his best or that a meeting was responsive or demonstrative, but there is never a comparison between himself and some less effective speaker or any obtrusive glorification of his own achievement.

He does rejoice sometimes in evidences that his arguments have prevailed, and again and again he insists that the influence one exercises for sound public objects and not the distinction one achieves is the thing which gives enduring satisfaction.

He was never a maker of political programmes. Nothing in his correspondence suggests that he was the intimate counsellor of governments. To neglect governments is to be neglected by governments, and few men had a greater share of official neglect than Parkin, but his advice and support were sought by leaders in commerce, finance and transportation. He gave time which he could ill afford to movements for social and religious reform. Despite his natural fervour and abounding enthusiasm he was singularly moderate and practical. To the raw and noisy brood of levellers and destructionists who would make a new world between dawn and nightfall he displayed indifference, sometimes impatience, never contempt. He could flame with anger over jobbery, tyranny and injustice, but to the most perverted of mortals he held out the hope of redemption. Always to him, 'the greatest of these is charity.' As one looks over his career it is surprising to find how seldom he committed 'indiscretions' although he was forever on the platform, and how surely he held himself aloof from movements which ran for a season and ended in defeat if not in discredit. There is mortal danger in frequent appearances upon the platform. To a speaker who is quick to discover the moods, prejudices and passions of an audience the temptation to inflame their prejudices and excite their passions is well-nigh irresistible. But Parkin kept the integrities of his soul. He was never the slave of his emotions nor ever the servant of those elements in public meetings which leap to invective and denuncia-

tion. Always his object was to convince, not to convict. There was perhaps no great project of which he was peculiarly the architect. He was only one of many who developed the policy of Imperial federation. By no one else, however, was the vision so finely and powerfully interpreted. If he was not in any wide or deep sense definitely constructive, it was because he always believed that the letter killed while the spirit gave life and made the ground fruitful unto the harvest. No other man of his time, although even yet this truth may not be fully realized, was so signally influential in fashioning and fertilizing the Imperial spirit which found its utmost expression in the common exertions and sacrifices of the armies of the Empire in the greatest crisis in human history. He went forth to sow again and again through a whole generation, but for the most part the reapers of the harvest were not conscious how or whence came its abundance.

The truth is that Parkin had a cross-bench mind. He had no heart for the compromises of politics and the exigent manœuvres of party. He had all the qualifications for high political office save the suppleness and dexterity which are held to be essential to successful political leadership. More than once when his need was urgent he rejected proposals in which there seemed to be the certain promise of comfort and security. In this resolute and almost quixotic independence there is perhaps the final evidence of his unavailability for political office. One feels that he would have sat uneasily in a Cabinet and that probably the door would hardly have closed upon his entrance before it would have opened for his exit.

More than once he thought of a seat in the Canadian

Parliament and he gave serious consideration to proposals to be a candidate for the Imperial House of Commons, but he never sought to secure nomination by a party convention in any Canadian constituency; and as has been told, he could not be convinced that he should enter the British Parliament under conditions which would have meant dependence upon a party fund for the costs of election and with the restraints upon freedom of speech and action which such a relation would involve. Characteristic was his reply to a wealthy friend who urged upon him how easily a constituency could be found, and how unique was the work which he could do. 'I shall gladly run,' said Parkin, with a smile and a twinkle, 'upon two conditions: that you settle upon me £5,000 a year, and that you then die.' He was a John Hay without Hay's devotion to a political party. Never so fretful as Hay nor so sweeping in judgment, he saw as clearly the motives by which public men were actuated and held as tenaciously to essential issues. But he could condemn without contempt, which Hay could not do. Hay was neglected as Parkin was neglected because he thought always of the State or the party before he thought of himself. No doubt Hay saw the State through the eyes of party, while Parkin cared little who held the political offices so long as the ends for which he strove were advanced.

One cannot but regret that Parkin never was High Commissioner for Canada in London. He had such qualifications for the office as few Canadians have possessed. He would have raised the office to such distinction as it has not always enjoyed. He would have been wise in diplomacy, vigorous in action and aggressive in defence of every legitimate Canadian right and interest. For the

Imperialism of Parkin was rooted in concern for the authority and dignity of the Dominions. There is a curious notion that an Imperialist is necessarily a servant of the Government at Westminster and a champion of Great Britain in any difference which may arise between the statesmen of the Dominions and those of the Mother Country. The truth is that in Canada the early Imperialists were Canadian Nationalists, as deeply concerned to secure for the Dominions a definite status in the Empire as to maintain and strengthen the bonds with the Mother Country. There have been no truer Canadian patriots than Macdonald and Tupper and Denison and Foster and Grant and Mowat and Ross, and if not all of these had a common conception of the Imperial relation they all believed that there was nothing better or greater for Canada than an honourable partnership in a powerful Empire. For the most part public men who derided the Imperialists and scoffed at Parkins and Denisons, proclaimed their gospel when they went down into the constituencies. Neither Parkin nor Denison nor Grant ever sought to exploit the popular feeling which they created and nourished for personal or party advantage. Who knows whether Parkin was a Conservative or a Liberal? He gave support to Macdonald against the Liberal party when there was apprehension that Liberal trade policies would lead Canada into dangerous, or at least dependent, commercial relations with the United States. He gave equal support and confidence to Laurier when the British preference was established and Canadian contingents were sent out to South Africa. What was true of Parkin was just as true of Grant and Denison. They followed the flag by whomsoever it was carried.

There was nothing upon which Parkin set higher value

than the right of free speech and independent judgment. This was his message to young men, and ran through all his teaching. He was ever anxious for the independence of the Press and slow to understand that silence was sometimes the part of wisdom. He would yield nothing to considerations of party nor leave a word unsaid which he thought should be spoken. No man could have been more obedient to his own conscience. Testing himself by stern standards he could gain no end by artifice or dissimulation. Naturally, therefore, with all his tolerance and compassion he was not lenient when public men evaded manifest obligations and he flamed with wrath over looseness and corruption in high places. He had no racial animosities, nor can one recall that he was ever engaged in a sectarian conflict. Again and again in his letters there are evidences of his eager desire to avoid misunderstanding with the French people of Quebec and to unite French and English in a common loyalty to the Confederation. If he had less craft than Macdonald and Laurier, he recognized as fully that co-operation between the two races was the first condition of harmony and unity in Canada. Fervent Protestant though he was, there was much in the Roman Catholic Church for which he had nothing but reverence, and he was as happy in association with the Nonconformist churches as with that in which he worshipped with so much of sincerity and devotion. Wherever he was or however wearied and burdened he was he found his way to church on Sunday morning. In his home life and in his religious life he was a Victorian, and in his career and character there is a fine expression of the virtue and courtesy of that luminous era in British history.

It has been said that he would have brought honour and

distinction to Canada as High Commissioner in London. But his aloofness from party and his indifference to ' politics ' closed the door of political preferment. Moreover, he never had the means to hold any office which required large financial sacrifices. Democracy is a hard taskmaster and a shabby paymaster. In spite of much denunciation of millionaires and much suspicion of wealth the parsimony of the people compels governments to give many of the great offices to the well-to-do. But if it was impossible for Parkin to represent Canada officially at the centre of the Empire, he was beloved as was no other Canadian in London and he spoke with an authority which perhaps no other Canadian could command. He grew slowly and unconsciously into this position, and never realized how much of the confidence and affection of his own people he possessed. Nor was it perhaps fully understood by his fellow Canadians in London until his death. Then the loss was revealed in all its significance, and with the sense of loss there came a realization of the measure of his services to Canada and the Empire. One who gives himself to the State grows slowly into authority if he rejects office; official position of itself gives power and prestige while possession of patronage recruits an army with banners. With none of these advantages Parkin established an ascendancy among Canadians in London which was unchallenged. Often as he spoke for Canada at public dinners or official celebrations, there was nothing in his speeches which had to be recalled and nothing which drew protest from any group or party in the Dominion. While he lived at Goring-on-Thames his door was ever open to Canadians, and none of those who were so fortunate as to be his guests can forget the charm and courtesy, the serenity and dignity of the master, his

eager intellectual avidity, the free range of his mind from topic to topic, and the happy unity of a family circle in which there was love without fear and freedom without assertion. Away from home as he was so often, and not seldom upon long journeys, he could not allow a day to pass without a letter to his wife or one of his children. If a day came upon which he could not write, the next letter was begun with explanation and apology as though he were expiating an offence. For the most part he wrote long letters, and nearly always with his own hand. His letters to his children are brightened by touches of raillery and flashes of humour such as one seldom finds in his speeches or his writing. His letters to his wife reveal all his mind, all his hopes and all his anxieties. Between the two there was complete affection and confidence, and the correspondence shows clearly how great was his dependence upon her for strength and inspiration and how great was her power to comfort and sustain. These daily letters to wife and children represent a tremendous amount of labour, but one feels that without this outlet for his affection he would have found absence unendurable and never could have gone round the world for the causes to which his life was devoted.

One regrets that so often the letters reveal anxiety over the inadequacy of his income, that so often they are full of anxious speculation about the future. The fact is, however, that he was easily exalted and easily depressed. No one could fight more bravely or boldly for a cause in which his heart was enlisted or bear reverses with greater equanimity; he was simple in his habits and sat loose to his possessions; but when his earnings fell short of the needs of his family neither sun nor moon appeared. Like so many men who give themselves to public affairs, he

had no love for money and seldom any thought for the future. Often he miscalculated and often his expectations were unfulfilled. He could not bargain nor did he ever know how to exact the value of his services. An old friend, a relative of Bishop Medley's, writes that ' on one occasion, when my brother and I went to see him at Seymour House, the conversation turned to the great range of his travels and acquaintances and to the big things that his activities touched; and, somehow, the remark was made that, this being so, he must have had wonderful opportunities of getting in on big things from a financial point of view and making a fortune, even as, though not so largely as, Rhodes himself did. He was silent a moment and then said something like, " Well, do you know, I have never thought of that." He had been so fully engrossed in pursuing his ideals that the idea of using his powers and opportunities to make money had never so much as occurred to him.' But his wife never failed to understand, and for many years made those continual sacrifices which wise and good women make so unselfishly and heroically for the men in whom they believe and upon whose lives they have an influence beyond all common understanding. Fortunately a time came when the strain was removed and when Parkin could do his best for the causes in which he was concerned, secure in the independence which was of the very fibre of his being.

Sir George Parkin was a Canadian Nationalist and a British Imperialist, but he was not a jingo nor a meddler with the concerns of other nations. There was the balance and restraint of a responsible statesman in his utterances even during those angry political contests in Canada over the commercial policies of the Liberal party which he believed would lead to dependence upon

Washington, imperil the integrity of the Dominions and affect the unity of the Empire. Despite the free sweep and force of his speeches he was without the art or the temper of the demagogue. In his later years he delivered many addresses before American universities and great commercial organizations, and, if he was often singularly candid in his criticism of American social tendencies and searching in his judgment of American institutions, he left such an impression of sincerity and goodwill that he provoked neither anger nor resentment. His was the temper of a Victorian monarchist, and he never was afraid to tell the American people that Great Britain had gone farther than they in the march towards political freedom and that democracy had still something to learn from the State-serving aristocrats of the Mother Country. When the United States entered the Great War he rejoiced not only because the action of Washington gave assurance of victory to the Allies but because he believed that the fact of common losses and common sacrifices would profoundly affect the future relations of the two great English-speaking nations and would strengthen and consolidate mighty influences for peace and goodwill among mankind. His truest memorial is not that which is to be erected at Oxford. He never sat in Parliament nor ever held office under the Crown, but his inspired devotion fed the spirit of an Empire, and gave life and energy to the forces which make for Imperial and international friendship.

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